

The University of Sheffield

**Object Relations Middle Group and Attachment Theory:
Gender Development, Spousal Abuse, and Qualitative Research
On Youth Crime**

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Abstract

The basis to Freud's view that men and women are essentially separate entities with their own unique psychological construction and human potential which arises from their anatomical differences, will be challenged from the paradigm of object relations theory and related research from attachment theory. It will be argued that while a substantive understanding of gender development and the related issue of spousal abuse are influenced by such important factors as patriarchal domination, social oppression, socialized roles, and economic inequality between the sexes, these forces are considered to have a secondary psychological effect when compared with the formative influence of early object relations. The object relational paradigm to be outlined is that it is the distinctive emotional impact of the contents and attitudes that occur between the members of each family that establish the blueprints for subsequent feelings about oneself and others, from which particular relational patterns with others are pursued and acted upon within the larger social structure.

Freud may be credited for his recognition and pioneering systematic investigation into the central importance of the unconscious in the development and functioning of human beings. Beyond this being a theoretical entity that is devoid of any scientific rigour which cannot be tested, proven, and therefore accepted as a legitimate therapeutic modality, information will be offered that suggests otherwise.

Spousal relationships in which abuse constitutes a chronic pattern of interaction between the persons involved is understood to occur within contemporary North American society as a collusive arrangement between two emotionally impaired individuals. The argument will be made that they enter into an unconscious dialogue wherein each perpetrates and perpetuates the hopes and disappointments of their own and their partner's past intrapsychic relational experiences.

Incarceration alone does not serve the emotional needs of young offenders, but instead, generally provides conditions which advance what is accepted, within this paper, to be a frequently disturbed psychic structure. The emphasis within the Canadian correctional system seems to emphasize incarceration over rehabilitation with the expectation that punishing those who break the law will result in an abstention from such acts in the future. The argument will be presented that in addition to ensuring public safety through imprisonment for some, there is mounting evidence which demonstrates the success of treatment programmes both within and outside of correctional institutions for those who break the law, and whose primary emphasis is on treatment and rehabilitation rather than detention and retribution. Contrary to therapeutic intervention being carried out as an adjunct to existing penal institutions, or that it be directed principally at the conscious acquisition of skills and information, it is proposed that such efforts are best administered within

comprehensive therapeutic environments. Further, it will be argued that rather than the previous and current emphasis which is directed primarily at a cognitive and behavioural level of the offender, it is the emotional foundation of the individual which has a direct influence on their long-term behaviour. Therefore, this aspect should constitute a fundamental component of the treatment program for the forensic patient for which psychoanalytic psychotherapy may play an important role.

Introduction

Object Relations Theory and the Middle Group

More than a century has passed since Freud first proposed the basis to our need to pursue relationships with other objects, most notably, people, and the dissensions which frequently permeate such intimacies. From the volumes of research and theoretical advances that his work has generated, Melanie Klein took what was primarily Freud's id-ego structural account of object relations, integrated a definitive relational component, and maintained the basic instinctual core of his thinking (Greenberg and Mitchell 1983, pp. 119-40). Her writings have had an extensive influence on the psychoanalytic community throughout Europe. From Freud's own views, as well as the amendments and advances that Klein offered on these, there developed the comparatively little known distinctly relational theories of Fairbairn (pp. 151-87) and Guntrip (pp. 209-378), and although claiming an adherence to the requisites of Freudian drive theory, the work of Winnicott is likewise included as fundamentally relational, given the central emphasis he placed on the importance of what actually transpires between the infant and its caregiver (pp. 188-209). Although Klein's prominent conceptual contributions of *splitting* and *projective identification* (1952, 1946) play a significant role in Parts 2 and 3 of the thesis, it is Fairbairn's overt departure from Freud's instinctual model of human functioning to a restricted focus on what he proposed was the primary need of all people to form emotionally satisfying relationships with others (Eagle 1982 pp. 75-86). That is the theme appearing throughout the dissertation.

The work of Winnicott and Guntrip is also integrated, which, when added to Fairbairn's have collectively have been referred to as the *Middle Group* within object relations theory, neither aligning themselves exclusively with Klein, nor Anna Freud, the two principal figures who represent divergent schools of shared thought (Greenberg and Mitchell 1983, p. 120).

Classical Psychoanalytic Thought and Gender Development:

Castration Anxiety, Penis Envy, and Psychoanalytic Credibility

It is my impression that the general level of understanding about psychoanalysis, at the undergraduate level, but also amongst different mental health specialists outside of the discipline, varies from poor to limited. If the subject of gender development, for example, is raised, girls and boys are invariably expected to each experience the effects of *penis envy* and *castration anxiety*, respectively, both arising in conjunction with repressed feelings of sexuality toward the opposite sexed parent (Freud 1916-17). Such reductive misconceptions are further complicated by members within the analytic community who continue to profess similarly antiquated ideology (Dolnick 1998) further reducing the willingness of others to contemplate or accept the credibility of this discipline. It was my intention to address some of these popular misunderstandings from a specifically relational psychoanalytic perspective, whereby accounts that are more in keeping with contemporary research, might add some clarity. Accordingly, I have not restricted myself solely to information that has evolved throughout the history of psychoanalysis, to which strong criticism has been directed for the proverbial *preaching to the*

choir - this being in reference to what is regarded by some as the acceptance and exchange of psychoanalytic principles amongst its converted members through a process thought to include privileged access (Lewis et al. 2000 pp. 7-9). I have included independent findings outside of the analytic domain which both support and challenge many of its claims, which in turn bear a significant influence on therapeutic practise.

Object Relations Theory and Spousal Abuse: The Problem With Men

The topic of domestic violence, more specifically, the mistreatment of women by men within current western culture has become a popular issue within the field of women's studies across Canada and the United States, and developmental psychology in general. As an important social issue it is the principal attention that men often receive for their assigned role as the *abuser*, and likewise, women as the *abused* (Celani 1994), about which perspectives from object relations theory seem to play a limited role, if acknowledged at all. It was my intention, then, to address spousal abuse from this perspective in order that an additional contribution to the understanding of the problem could be offered.

Youth Crime: Object Relations, Forensic Psychotherapy, Attachment Theory, and Qualitative Research

I was in the unique position of working in a maximum security prison with young offenders for

a minimum of four hours each day over a five year period. During this time I observed and experienced many facets of the forensic patient and penal institution which corroborated many of the theoretical assertions of object relations and attachment theory. I was provided with the rare opportunity to conduct qualitative research in a highly restricted setting with an isolated social group which yielded important information about the occurrence, prevention, and treatment of chronic criminal behaviour amongst the adolescent population.

Thesis Outline

The thesis is divided into three parts: 1. classical Freudianism and the issue of gender development, 2. domestic violence in the form of spousal abuse, and 3. qualitative research on youth crime. Each of the chapters will entail an outline of some of the major theoretical assertions given in association with the topic under examination. Following this a critical evaluation will be made of these topics in the face of object relations theory, most notably, the work of Fairbairn, as well as contributions from Winnicott, and Guntrip, to which will be added related research whose primary concern is with that of attachment. Lastly, some implications will be offered from this information about the potential for and use of psychoanalytic psychotherapy.

Part 1

Classical Psychoanalytic Thought and Gender Development

In an effort to place Freud's views on the construction of gender identity within a comprehensive context, I will begin by outlining his position concerning a number of related topics which together contribute to his overall thinking on this subject. His eclectic academic approach to understanding the human psyche; his basic understanding of sexuality being the result of instinctual drive and occurring via the psychosexual stages of development; his fervent claim that sexual perversions are best understood in terms of basic sexual impulses affecting all people, the inherent problems he highlighted when attempts are made to define what constitutes sexuality; his refusal to accept societies rejection of those who do not conform to conventional sexual practises and the difficulties this poses for such persons; his dismissing of the commonly accepted distinction between masculine and feminine; his elaborate writings on the pivotal stage of the Oedipus Complex in the formation of psychological development, and his general position regarding why we establish relations with others will be addressed. These segments will be included as representative of Freud's fundamental position regarding gender development, followed by a critique of these views, followed by an introduction to Klein's and Fairbairn's respective views on object relations. After this additional studies from attachment theory will be illustrated which corroborate some of the presented criticisms, and finally, the issue of the credibility of psychoanalysis is examined.

Freud's Multi-Disciplinary Thinking

Whenever a claim is being put forward which proposes to account for a particular behaviour, thought, or feeling on the part of an individual, there is always an implicit or explicit series of assumptions regarding the central factors which are believed to contribute and be responsible for such qualities. Any mental health practitioner who claims that a select behaviour or thought is capable of being enclosed within a system, whose intent is to isolate what is abnormal and pathological from the normal and healthy, will tacitly embrace a number of fundamental beliefs about the emotional development and behaviour of humans. Whether the discipline is Psychiatry, Psychology, Anthropology, Theology, Ethology, or Sociology, each of its respective members will emphasize different factors in varying degrees, in accounting for people's behaviour. What contributes to the confusion of such proposed explanations is that the underlying assumptions in these paradigms are frequently in conflict with one another and, at times, contradictory. Mention is made of these disciplines as Freud was influenced by all of them and did not remain consistent throughout his work. His views about gender development and associated issues, while extensive and profound, were often generated from a series of beliefs which, when put together, were in disaccord. His views on the sexual life of individuals, either normal and aberrant, is a case in point.

Sexual Development and Sexuality

Those who have received a basic introduction to the work of Freud are generally acquainted with his proposed stages of psychosexual development. His selection of the mouth, anus, and genitals as the areas around which the child appeared to derive immense pleasure were not arbitrarily selected as the focal point of his theoretical assertions. It was the strength of the personal enjoyment and social importance which surrounded each zone, as well as their biological function, that appeared in many of the symptoms of his patients and constituted what for Freud was the apparent connection between the perverse sexual acts of adults and the normal sexual life of children. 'To suppose that children have no sexual life - sexual excitations and needs and a kind of satisfaction - but suddenly acquire it between the ages of twelve and fourteen would (quite apart from any observations) be as improbable, and indeed senseless, biologically as to suppose that they brought no genitals with them into the world and only grew them at puberty' (1916-17, p. 353). Such an assertion was not made as a derisive evaluation of childhood behaviour, but the common ground it was presumed to share with sexually perverse adult behaviour. Consequently, Freud asserted that these areas of the body played a central role in our understanding of the sexual life of each individual. '. . . in short, that perverse sexual activity is nothing else than magnified infantile sexuality split up into its separate impulses' (p. 352). Beyond the self-preservative purpose of the particular action involved was the seemingly auto-erotic pleasure that was attached to what he later called 'erotogenic zones'. Freud suggested that a very loose organization existed prior to the establishment of the genital zone

as the primary source from which to gain sexual satisfaction - an organization which he termed 'pre-genital'. It was not that he was asserting that the sexual goals of the pre-genital stage were without objects, but that those objects did not converge exclusively onto the genitals. Freud was of the belief that while such preliminary object-seeking sexual pleasures would be retained and assume some place in the formative structures which are established in the genital organization, they would be superseded by the goal of reproduction. In other words, while we can expect that the mouth and anus will always retain elements of sexual pleasure, it is the stimulation of the genitals in pursuit of their reproductive function that Freud felt represented the division between childhood and adult sexuality. '... the breach and turning-point in the development of sexual life lies in its becoming subordinate to the purposes of reproduction. Everything that happens before this turn of events and equally everything that disregards it and that aims solely at obtaining pleasure is given the uncomplimentary name of "perverse" and as such is proscribed' (1916-17, p. 358). While Freud wanted to identify the pre-genital stages of development to mature sexuality as preceding the establishment of the primacy of the genital zone, he also recognized the possibility of 'fixations' (p. 385) taking place at any one or more of these stages. Parental behaviour of any kind that is experienced as excessively frustrating or stimulating for the child was said to result in a type of emotional arrest such that psychological growth from one stage to the next was either temporarily or permanently thwarted, thereby giving rise to aberrant behaviour in later life. The example of the individual for whom the exclusive goal of the sex act involves a rejection or subordination of genital union between opposite sex partners, a substitution of the mouth, anus or other body part, as providing the climax of sexual excitation,

would, for Freud, be interpreted as evidence of a psychological paralysis (fixation) during early development. Such an occurrence would prevent the individual from graduating to what would ordinarily be expected to result in a mutually pleasurable heterosexual relationship in which the goal of reproduction was dominant.

Understanding Sexual Perversion

Freud was interested in understanding the reasons for the difficulties brought to him by his patients. Many of these took the form of sexual practises, predilections, and anxieties which ran counter to what society would regard as acceptable and normal, and yet little was available during Freud's time in the way of satisfactory accounts for such anomalies. Rather than approach such irregularities strictly from the vantage point of distinguishing what was normal from pathological, he felt that recognizing the sexual life of children via the erotogenic zones was essential if a true understanding of sexual perversions could be grasped. For example, his case studies of 'Dora' (1905), 'Little Hans' (1909), the 'Rat Man' (1909), Schreiber (1911), the 'Wolf Man' (1918), and *Homosexuality in a Woman* (1920), all contained components of this system which he felt represented the framework upon which an individual's sexuality (and neurosis) were built. Whether he was discussing Hans' imagined belief in his own ability to produce children through his anus; Dora's hysteria surrounding the thought of sucking a man's penis; the Rat Man's obsession with being punished by rats boring their way into his anus; Schreiber's failure to make the transition from Freud's proposed narcissistic period of auto-erotism to the selection

of a separate love-object with complimentary genitalia; the connection between anal erotism, castration, the primal scene, and the Wolf Man's identification with women; or the difficulty with which he felt women struggle because of the absence of a penis and concomitantly the selection of an opposite sexed object choice - the inclusion of the psychosexual stages of development ran throughout much of Freud's clinical remarks.

Psychosexual Stages and Freud's First Introduction of Object Relations

In the first period of development, the oral stage, the neonate is said to derive physical pleasure from the sucking of his mother's breast. 'Sucking at the mother's breast is the starting-point of the whole of sexual life, the unmatched prototype of every later sexual satisfaction to which phantasy often enough recurs in time of need. This sucking involves making the mother's breast the first object of the sexual instinct' (1916-17, p. 356). The child is assumed to hold a receptive and incorporative attitude in relation to the mother in the sense that he wants to take in all of the goodness she has to offer. Only in the event that the child is frustrated by an insufficient flow of milk does there appear oral aggressive tendencies in the form of biting and chewing. Such an attitude may be seen as a response by the child to the frustration of not receiving what previously was or should have been automatic. On the basis of his work with patients Freud intuitively surmised that the aggressive thoughts and actions that he was witnessing were, in part, a response to inadequately met primitive needs, in this case, those of oral incorporation and receptiveness. Freud later drew upon the work of a Hungarian paediatrician, S. Lindner, who

substantiated his views on the sexual nature of the related behaviour of thumb sucking - this being interpreted as a substitution for the mother's breast during her absence. A key observation that Freud made but did not emphasize (in my opinion an understated view that would mark a cornerstone in the work of later object relations and attachment theorists) was that beyond the nutritive function of sucking, the object itself seemed to provide a physical comfort. '... we observe how an infant will repeat the action of taking in nourishment without making a demand for further food; here, then, he is not actuated by hunger. We describe this as sensual sucking, and the fact that in doing this he falls asleep once more with a blissful expression shows us that the act of sensual sucking has in itself alone brought him satisfaction' (1916-17, p. 355).

The anal-erotic stage is the second developmental period where the child gains pleasure from the two-fold functions of withholding and releasing its faeces. The pleasure it derives stems from the combination of the sensual experience of defecating, the product of its efforts, namely the faeces themselves, and the acquired ability to control its sphincter muscles, thereby allowing it the enjoyment of keeping to itself a product of its body to which no one but itself has access. The complementary abilities of retention and expulsion are what gives rise to an infant's initial sense of independence and mastery. Like the oral phase, Freud proposed that the anal period contained an aggressive component; however, rather than this aggressivity being fuelled by biological need, frustration in the anal stage was said to be due to social restrictions. It is the parents insistence on regulating when and where a child will exercise this independent ability that was proposed to evoke sadistic aggression. The parental directives that require a child curtail

any public discussion of this biological process; that it be understood as something which is best kept secret, and that it contains an implied element of disgust, is what Freud emphasized the child is expected to learn and embrace. 'This is where he is first obliged to exchange pleasure for social respectability' (1916-17, p. 357).

The third stage of psychosexual development, the phallic or Oedipal period, is characterized by sexual gratification being derived primarily from genital stimulation. Either by urination, masturbation, or the indirect stimulation of the child's genitals during maternal care, they are said to learn of the pleasure that can be derived from the arousal of that part of their body. The central task during this phase is the resolution of the Oedipus complex; what Freud felt to be the universal experience of human's conflicting emotions of love, hate, jealousy, fear, and guilt in association with the child's possessive sexual attraction to the parent of the opposite sex, and desire to be rid of and replace the same sexed parent. (As Freud regarded the Oedipus complex as central to the formation of gender identity, in addition to being the nucleus for most subsequent disorders, I will reserve a more extensive review of his thoughts on this matter until slightly later in this section).

The successful resolution of the emotions which the Oedipus complex is said to give rise makes way for the latency period, Freud's fourth phase of psychosexual development. What had previously been dominated by sexual curiosity regarding the parents Freud felt, would be replaced with an inquisitiveness about the world outside the family. Scholastic achievement and

participation in both the fine arts and sport, is what this phase is proposed to afford.

The genital phase, Freud's last stage of development, is characterized by the re-emergence of the need for sexual pleasure, specifically, the goal of uniting with someone of the opposite sex for the purposes of reproduction, which, in an average nurturing environment, is to take place through a heterosexual relationship.

Defining Sexuality

In his attempt to answer the question: 'What is it that we mean when we speak of something that is sexual?' (1916-17) Freud wanted to take issue with the inaccuracy of society's tendency to employ a definition which uses the act of reproduction through intercourse as the central goal. Likewise, to state that sexual behaviour must be with the expressed intent of obtaining bodily pleasure primarily in the genital region and with someone of the opposite sex, would be to negate the number of persons for whom this is not the case. Freud noted that since we accept that neither masturbation nor birth-controlled intercourse are carried out in the interest of reproduction, are we to conclude that these acts are not sexual? Should we define the pleasure that one receives from the kissing of lips, but which does not end in genital pleasure, as a nonsexual act? If the object of one's sexual arousal is restricted to the breast, foot, or a person's hair, for example, do we regard this as falling outside the correct definition? Should those whose primary sexual goal is one of exposing their genitals to others, be viewed as simply perverse?

Should persons who are preoccupied with watching sexual behaviour but do not engage in it themselves, likewise be omitted from what is normal? Should persons who insist on being physically injured or harmed in order for them to derive sexual pleasure (or vice versa) be understood as purely deviant? If someone is sexually satisfied by an item which is independent of the body, for example, a piece of clothing, a shoe, or an undergarment, should this also be explained as merely perverse? And finally, should we regard the lives of homosexuals and lesbians as the epitome of perversion since only members of their own sex can stimulate their sexual desires, while those of the opposite sex are not seen as sexual objects, and in some cases are perceived with disgust (1916-17, pp. 344-47)?

Freud was attempting to point out that when we discuss sexual behaviour, a definition that is intended to identify what is normal versus perverse offers little in the way of understanding the mental dynamics of these acts. He viewed sexuality as something which included bodily pleasure, but only in its broadest sense. By introducing the concept of the psychosexual stages of development he was implying that each person's sexuality was something that was neither innate nor preordained, but an evolving achievement that comes as they pass through each aspect of these developmental stages. If, in our discussion of sexuality we designate the sadist, masochist, fetishist, exhibitionist, voyeur, homosexual, lesbian or any other individual whose primary sexual directive lies outside the norm of heterosexual union, as simply examples of perverse behaviour, then Freud would argue that our understanding of this integral part of human nature would remain shallow and incomplete. What he wanted to be realized was that

the antecedents of perverse sexual behaviour lay in the initial pleasures and impulses demonstrated by children. For example, a child's attitude toward the excretory functions of urinating and defecating are quite the opposite of repulsion. They delight not only in their ability to execute this function, but also with its product. Likewise, they express considerable pleasure with exercising their sphincter muscles which in some cases provide an associated pleasure that remains predominant throughout their lives (1916-17, p. 357). From Freud's point of view, the mouth and anus initially provide a comparable satisfaction to that of genital stimulation. Accordingly, he was not shocked by the fact that for some adults either the mouth or anus was capable of taking on the significance of a substitute for the vagina. Similarly, the fascination which children have with watching others engage in the process of evacuating urine and faeces (what for Freud constituted rudimentary sexual behaviour) added to the link between sexual perversions on the part of adults and the sexual lives of children. He also noted that, in contrast to the general perception that perversions are an indication of individual degeneracy, aberrations of this sort, both in terms of sexual aim and object, had existed from the beginning of recorded history, among all peoples, from the most primitive to the most civilized. Consequently, ' . . . what attitude are we to adopt to these unusual kinds of sexual satisfaction? Indignation, an expression of our personal repugnance and an assurance that we ourselves do not share these lusts will obviously be of no help. Unless we can understand these pathological forms of sexuality and can co-ordinate them with normal sexual life, we cannot understand normal sexuality either' (p. 348).

Sexual Practises and Sexual Orientation

Freud was not the first to recognize and discuss sexual aberrations amongst humans. What was unique was that rather than distance himself from such behavioural anomalies in the form of personal repugnance, indignation, and the assurance that persons with a 'normal sex life' held nothing in common with such individuals (1916-17, p. 348), he postulated that it was in fact what we shared with these persons that made it possible to comprehend their actions. Until the time of Freud's insight, persons manifesting such irregularities were dismissed or rejected on the grounds that their behaviour could be explained in terms of itself; that is, they engaged in perverted behaviour and were therefore perverts, and they were perverts because they engaged in perverted behaviour. In essence what Freud was arguing was that applying a diagnostic label or derogatory remark to an individual who engages in a behaviour which we find offensive and appears abnormal, offers nothing in the way of understanding the reasons for its occurrence. His formulation of the psychosexual stages of development provided not only a theoretical basis for understanding why more than one zone of the body was capable of assuming prominence in the sexual act, but included observational data that highlighted the importance of these areas during development. As a result of the individual experiences of the child in connection with the caretaker's attitudes and practises during feeding, toileting, and genital pleasure, Freud had uncovered the multifaceted nature of sexual pleasure. Further, his recognition of the mouth and anus as pre-genital sources of sexual pleasure helped to illuminate our understanding of how the aim of sexual pleasure is not necessarily restricted to sexual intercourse. Likewise, his assertion

of people's innate bisexuality exposed the fact that humans are not automatically programmed to be sexually attracted to the opposite sex. What had been assumed to be the only acceptable sexual relationship or sexual object, that of being heterosexual with the emphasis on genital union, Freud identified as only one of several possibilities. What he had successfully achieved was to take what had previously been viewed as perverse and wrong, and convert this, using the combination of known psychosexual zones, conceivable aims, and choice of objects, and demonstrate how several outcomes, rather than only one, could arise from a developmental structure which included all persons.

Homosexuality

At the time of his writing Freud recognized that the literature on homosexuality generally failed to distinguish adequately between questions dealing with the choice of a love-object, on the one hand, and the sexual characteristics and attitudes of the subject, on the other. There seemed to be implied that the answers to the former lay in the answers to the latter. For example, a male who displays all the traits and mannerisms that society defines as masculine may nevertheless be inverted in connection with his love-object, selecting only men rather than women. Likewise, a man who characterizes effeminate attributes might be expected to select a man for his love-object, and yet may be heterosexual and show no more inversion in connection with his object than the average man (1920, p. 398). We can appreciate that the social pressures surrounding gender-appropriate behaviour were considerably greater in Freud's day than they are today;

however, his point was that we cannot accept social appearances as an accurate indication of sexual orientation. Even an overtly heterosexual couple does not negate the possibility of 'inversion' (the term Freud used in reference to the reversal of attitude toward a love-object) in the sense that both a man and a woman can reverse gender roles throughout their private lives, including their sexual life, and yet publicly present an image that coincides with what society designates as correct. Freud was looking beyond the social veneer of gender roles and realized that while society might be able to demarcate the line between masculine and feminine, from an intrapsychic perspective, the difference, as it applied to the choice of one's love-object, was arbitrary, malleable, and equivocal. 'It cannot be accurately depicted with such popular expositions as - A feminine mind, bound therefore to love a man, but unhappily attached to a masculine body; or a masculine mind, irresistibly attracted by women, but imprisoned in a feminine body' (ibid.) or any other account which failed to examine the dynamic relationships which comprise the complexity and variations of the pre-oedipal and oedipal transition.

Homosexuality and Morality

Unlike his predecessors or contemporaries Freud spent a considerable amount of time explaining why the practise of homosexuality could not be reduced to some form of degenerate behaviour (1905, pp. 48-50). In reference to this he noted that homosexuality was frequently evidenced as the only primary form of deviation from the norm in such people, that their ability to conduct their personal and professional lives remained unimpaired and in some cases was distinguished

by high intellectual functioning and ethical behaviour; and that inverted sexual orientation had been in existence for thousands of generations amongst both primitive and highly civilized societies (pp. 48-49). The point that he was making was that the evidence about this behaviour strongly supported that it could not in itself render an individual pathological or even disturbed. This was a clear indication of Freud's humanity.

Rather than discuss homosexuality as a single entity Freud made us aware that it could be broken down into those for whom: their sexual partner was exclusively of the same sex (absolute inverts); either sex was regarded as a suitable partner (amphigenic inverts), and, the specific circumstances rendered an opposite sex partner inaccessible, for example, prisoners, and thus, the selection was made of a same sex partner (pp. 46-47). Freud realized that heterosexual orientation was not part of the innate constitution of humans. The choice of one's sexual object is an individual selection, a choice that is made, not at the conscious level, but for reasons that Freud postulated were in connection with pre-oedipal development and the Oedipus complex. Freud proposed that the resolution of the Oedipus complex provided the opportunity for several possible outcomes with respect to the choice of love-object. In addition to the outcome of active or passive heterosexuality are the choices of active or passive homosexuality, bisexuality, and the alteration or reversing of unresolved unconscious decisions about sexual orientation and gender issues as influenced by external variables. Freud, then, helped us to understand that sexual orientation and gender development was an achievement that evolved through the interaction of family members, in conjunction with socially prescribed alternatives, rather than

being something that was linear and uniform.

The Origin of Homosexuality

On the question of whether homosexuality was innate or acquired, Freud clearly sided in favour of external factors contributing to this choice, though he remained ambivalent on this question as it pertained to 'absolute inverts', suggesting some form of constitutional basis. Nevertheless, '... if the cases of allegedly innate inversion were more closely examined, some experience of their early childhood would probably come to light which had a determining effect upon the direction taken by their libido' (1905, p. 51). Reasons that he offered for the choice of a same sex partner included: extreme fears in association with heterosexual intercourse, a sexual impression in early childhood that resulted in a same sex fixation, and exclusive relations with persons of the same sex, for example, in boarding school, a boys' reformatory, et cetera (pp. 50-51). At the deepest level, however, Freud felt that the primary factor that was responsible for inversion was narcissism. 'In all the cases we have examined we have established the fact that the future inverts, in the earliest years of their childhood, pass through a phase of very intense but short-lived fixation to a woman (usually mother), and that, after leaving this behind, they identify themselves with a woman and take themselves as their sexual object' (p. 56). Here, the boy does not identify with the father, but with the mother, and chooses an object like himself (genitalia), but with effeminate qualities (mother). His choice of love-object is, in effect, himself, an object that he may love as his mother once loved him. Thus, contrary to what had generally

been thought to be the case until Freud, the sexual object of a male homosexual is not simply the opposite of a heterosexual male. He accepted that some male inverts are like women who are drawn to the physical and mental attributes of a man - like a woman in search of a man - but he also noted that a large percentage of such persons retain the mental and physical qualities of masculinity and look for feminine traits in their sexual object. Their sexual object is not so much someone of the same sex as much as someone who combines elements of both sexes. In this sense it is a type of compromise between an impulse to love a man and a woman with the prevailing condition that the object's genitalia be masculine (1905, p. 55).

In the case of female homosexuality Freud felt that the girl seldom, if ever, chooses a woman as her love-object without taking her father as her object for at least some period of time during the oedipal phase. Later, however, due to what Freud felt were recurrent painful reminders of what the father has which she does not, she rejects him as an acceptable love-object and regresses to her earlier relationship with the mother.

Defining Masculine and Feminine - More Similarity Than Difference

The commonly used words of *masculine* and *feminine* were, from Freud's point of view, among the most confused terms in the scientific literature. From a biological perspective the distinction between male and female initially appears clear. Males possess a penis from which the reproductive cell, sperm, emerges, while women possess ovaries in which the seeds of

reproduction are contained. While these biological distinctions serve the purpose of procreation, the differences between the secondary sex characteristics are less absolute. The development of such features as facial and body hair, muscle mass, and hip and breast size vary greatly both between the sexes and within the same sex. It is not always possible, therefore, to state unequivocally what is either masculine or feminine. Freud felt that the sexual anatomy of the two sexes was itself grounds for commonality rather than difference. The clitoris, for example, was something he regarded as being the female equivalent to the penis, though in an atrophied state (1933, p. 97). He also rejected the social equating of masculinity with activity, and femininity with passivity, on the basis of evidence provided by ethology and sociology. He recognized that within the animal kingdom there were examples in which the female was the stronger and more aggressive figure while the male was dominant only in the act of sexual union. Similarly, the functions of rearing and caring for the young, which are generally seen as governed by the maternal instinct, are likewise not invariably attached to the female but are either a shared responsibility or the sole duty of the male (p. 148). The human species also provides evidence against the clear demarcation of what is masculine and feminine. 'Women can display great activity in various directions, while men are not able to live in company with their own kind unless they develop a large amount of passive adaptability' (ibid.). From his interest in the behavioural sciences Freud was wanting to emphasize that pure masculinity and femininity, what is socially regarded as male or female behaviour, could not be found in either a psychological, social, or biological sense. 'Every individual on the contrary displays a mixture of the characteristics belonging to his own and to the opposite sex; and he shows a combination of activity and

passivity whether or not these latter character-traits tally with his biological ones' (1905, p. 142). The point here is the recognition of the sexes having more in common with one another than was generally thought to be the case. Beyond the social veneer of the societal roles that are assigned the respective sexes, Freud was highlighting the extent to which they were similar rather than different, and yet as will be shown in the following segment, he was far from consistent in his thinking on this subject.

The Oedipus Complex - Gender Solidification

Psychoanalysts have generally recognized psychic disorders as reflective of pre-oedipal fixations and disturbances, and yet it is felt that the classical technique of psychoanalysis is oriented mainly to pathology arising from within the oedipal stage of development. Accordingly, the Oedipus complex constitutes not only the nucleus of the majority of psychic disorders but is the foundation to the development of a firm sense of gender identity from which the unique structure of the relations between the genders emerges.

On the basis of his work with patients, his self-analysis, and from his own thoughts on Sophocles' 'Oedipus Rex' and Shakespeare's 'Hamlet', Freud became convinced that every child develops an intense sexualized love for the parent of the opposite sex; that this love arouses feelings of jealousy, hate, guilt, and anxiety which induce the child to banish such emotions from consciousness, and that in response to such overwhelming sentiments, the child will adopt an

attitude of identification with the same sexed parent, thereby formulating a conscience. Freud understood the oedipal conflict and its resolution primarily in terms of the opposition between libidinal forces and civilization which he felt lay at the root of the majority of all neuroses (1916-17, pp. 47-48).

According to Freudian theory the anal phase of development gives way to the phallic period wherein sexual energy becomes invested in the genitals - in the penis for the boy, and the clitoris for the girl. The sexual feelings of the boy are directed toward the mother, and those of the girl, initially to the mother and subsequently to the father. The child then seeks erotic gratification from the parent who is experienced as the love-object and may fantasize achieving exclusive possession of the parent through marriage. The other parent is resented as being an intruder, someone who occupies an obstacle to the child's psychic wishes. The child then wants to be rid of the rival parent, wishing that the parent could be eliminated, and may imagine the parent's death. Fearing the reprisals of their own aggressive and hostile impulses the child repudiates such ideas by projecting them onto the rival parent; that is, the child does an about-face, believing that the parent, rather than themselves, is the object that harbours dangerous thoughts (1916-17, pp. 372-82).

The Boy

Freud felt that the boy's realization of his wish to be rid of his father may be reciprocated with

the same thought, and the connection between his erotic fantasies and the pleasurable sensations of his genitals, would inevitably result in the notion that his father may respond by cutting off his penis. 'More or less plainly, more or less brutally, a threat is pronounced that this part of him which he values so highly will be taken away from him' (1924, p. 316). It was the real or imagined threat of castration which Freud saw as the catalyst behind the boy's need to abort his initial plan within the phallic phase. Initially, however, Freud felt that the boy does not believe in this threat and will generally refuse to obey it. 'The observation which finally breaks down his unbelief is the sight of the female genitals. Sooner or later the child, who is so proud of his possession of a penis, has a view of the genital region of a little girl, and cannot help being convinced of the absence of a penis in a creature who is so like himself. With this, the loss of his own penis becomes imaginable and the threat of castration takes its deferred effect' (1916-17, pp. 317-18). This is the experience which Freud thought would leave a lasting impression and bring home the realistic possibility of being castrated. Unable to tolerate the castration anxiety he is experiencing, the little boy renounces his desire to possess his mother sexually. Instead, he decides to grow up to become a person like his father who can gain the love of a woman like his mother. He now chooses to identify with his father and, in doing so, adopts the mannerisms, traits, and attitudes of the man in his life, thereby establishing the root of his masculine identity. The process of identifying with the same sexed parent, this marking the successful resolution of the Oedipus complex, was for Freud the launching pad to the formation of the super-ego or conscience. The capacity for self-control, inner direction, and the internalization of parental values were said to replace the primary need for parental control. 'The authority of the father

is introjected into the ego, and there it forms the nucleus of the super-ego, which takes over the severity of the father and perpetuates his prohibitions against incest, and so secures the ego for the return of the libidinal object-cathexis' (p. 319).

The Girl

Freud was never entirely satisfied with his understanding of the girl's oedipal situation and its resolution. He realized somewhat late in his life that her transition into adulthood could not be conceptualized as a mirror image of the boy's. 'Under the impression of the danger of losing his penis, the Oedipus complex is abandoned, repressed and, in the most normal cases, entirely destroyed, and a severe superego is set up as its heir. What happens with a girl is almost the opposite' (1933, p. 163). At approximately the same time that the boy is resolving his complex, the girl is said to be turning away from the mother and focus on the father as the love-object. Unlike the boy who abandons his desire to sexually possess his love-object around the age of five or six, the girl usually does not repress or rescind this new connection until she approaches puberty. In contrast to the male pattern of the oedipal project where boys initially begin with their mother as the love-object choice, this being a heterosexual relationship or positive Oedipus complex, the girl is said to begin with a homosexual love-object choice or negative Oedipus complex, her first love-object being a woman (mother). The question for Freud, then, was how and why the girl passes over from what he termed her *masculine* or active attachment to the mother, to her *feminine* or passive relation to the father. The shift in her relationship with the

mother to that of the father was the first pivotal step that he considered necessary and unique to the girl's achievement of true femininity. It was his contention that during the negative oedipal phase, the sexual pleasure that the girl receives from the stimulation of her clitoris, a pleasure that was assumed to be unintentionally initiated by the care-giving actions of the mother, will be adopted by the girl herself. At this point Freud felt that there was basically no distinction between the boy and the girl. Such an assertion was based on the understanding that the girl's clitoris was the equivalent of the boy's penis, from which each sex derived the same kind of sexual pleasure through *active* masturbation (1916-17, p. 151). The second major step which was also seen to be unique to the girl's transformation into a woman was her need to relinquish '... the clitoris as the leading erotogenic zone. With the change to femininity the clitoris should wholly or in part hand over its sensitivity, and at the same time its importance, to the vagina' (pp. 151-52).

The Classical Account of the Girl Turning Away From the Mother

There were several reasons that Freud proposed for the girl's turning away from the mother. Her failure to provide the child with sufficient nutrition in the form of milk, that she did not adequately satisfy the girl's expectations of love, that she aroused the girl's sexual pleasure but then forbade her endeavours to continue, that she was compelled to share the mother's attentions with those of her siblings, and that the mother was both blamed and denounced for not providing her with a penis, this being an appendage that the girl believed her mother to possess all along

(1931, pp. 381-82). While each of these motives played a role in the girl turning away from her mother, the most compelling force behind the hostility that Freud felt all girls experience toward their mothers was the intensity of the satisfaction which the girl felt in connection with her relationship to her mother, and therefore was destined to fail. This was a relationship that was essentially *too good to be true* so to speak. 'Perhaps the real fact is that the attachment to the mother is bound to perish, precisely because it was the first and was so intense; just as one can often see happen in the first marriages of young women which they have entered into when they were most passionately in love. The attitude of love probably comes to grief from the disappointments that are unavoidable and from the accumulation of occasions for aggression' (p. 382).

In reference to the reasons that Freud offered for the girl blaming and denouncing her mother as a valued love-object he proposed that due to the girl's recognition of the anatomical differences between the sexes, she would embrace a desire for a penis from the father which would later be substituted with the wish for a baby so as to compensate for what she perceived as a deficiency within herself (1924, pp. 320-21). Her sense that she had been anatomically deprived by her mother, or that she was born with a penis which had been removed (essentially the impression that she had been castrated) provided the groundwork for Freud's concept of the girl's castration complex, from which intense envy for a penis begins. 'She acknowledges the fact of her castration, and with it too, the superiority of the male and her own inferiority. . .' (1931, p. 376). ' . . . we can say of them that they feel greatly at a disadvantage owing to their lack of

a big, visible penis, that they envy boys for possessing one and that, in the main for this reason, they develop a wish to be a man . . . ' (1916-17, p. 360). As a result of his belief that the girl already feels castrated, Freud reasoned that she would not suffer castration anxiety and thus she would not experience the same degree of repression to renounce her feelings toward her father, as the boy does toward his mother. 'Whereas in boys the Oedipus complex is destroyed by the castration complex, in girls it is made possible and led up to by the castration complex. This contradiction is cleared up if we reflect that the castration complex always operates in the sense implied in its subject-matter: it inhibits and limits masculinity and encourages femininity' (1925, p. 341). Consequently, Freud felt that the girl's situation would result in a superego of an entirely different magnitude. 'The essential difference thus comes about that the girl accepts castration as an accomplished fact, whereas the boy fears the possibility of its occurrence. The fear of castration being thus excluded in the little girl, a powerful motive also drops out for the setting-up of a superego and for the breaking-off of the infantile genital organization' (1924, p. 321). 'In these circumstances the formation of the super-ego must suffer; it cannot attain the strength and independence which gave its cultural significance, and feminists are not pleased when we point out to them the effects of this factor upon the average feminine character' (1933, p. 163). The statement that girls develop an inferior super-ego was further attributed to the belief that both the primary connection between girls and their mother and the secondary one between girls and their father did not require the same degree of repression as that between boys and their mother (1931, p. 377).

The Classical Account of the Differences Between the Sexes

Freud's basic reasoning regarding some of the principle differences between the sexes may be outlined as follows. The fact that boys possess a penis which they fear could be removed by the father (castration anxiety), following their incestuous wishes for the mother (positive Oedipus complex), induces them to completely abandon such desires in favour of identification with the father (the superego being the heir to the Oedipus complex), in order eventually to obtain someone like the mother outside of the family. Consequently, the strength of the boy's superego is instigated by the intensity of his feelings in association with his penis, incestuous wishes, and anxiety surrounding its loss at the hand of his father. Conversely, the girl does not possess a penis and therefore cannot fear the loss of something which she does not have (castration complex). She begins in a pre-oedipal phase in which the mother is the first love-object (negative Oedipus complex), with the clitoris being the primary erotogenic zone from which sexual pleasure is obtained. Later, with the onset of puberty, she turns away from her mother who she considers unworthy as an object of love due to the fact that she is without a penis, and the inevitable disappointments that arise from their initially symbiotic union. She shifts her attention to the father from whom she desires the longed for penis which is later substituted with the wish for a baby (positive Oedipus complex). This enables a shift to occur from the pleasure she receives from her clitoris, to that of the vagina. She wishes to eliminate her mother as a rival for her father which subsequently induces her to give up such incestuous wishes in favour of identification with the mother (formation of the superego). Rather than identification with the

same sexed parent being propelled by castration anxiety, as in the case of the boy, it is the girl's fear of loss of love from her mother (1933, pp. 119-20), or the projection of her own jealousy onto the mother (1925, p. 340), and dread that the mother may kill or abandon her in retaliation of such unconscious thoughts, that results in the resolution of the girl's positive Oedipus complex (1931, p. 385). In response to the anxiety she experiences in connection with the hostile feelings toward her mother, and erotic devotion to her father, the girl identifies with the mother and strives to become a woman like her so as to gain the love of a man like her father from whom she may gain a child.

The Conflict Between Instinctual Drives and Societal Demands

In 1908 Freud published his paper "'Civilized' Sexual Morality and Modern Nervous Illness'. His intention was to underscore the antagonism that existed between societal regulations and the instinctual nature of man. The premise on which he based this work was the idea that anything which impairs, suppresses or distorts the aim of sexual activity (to which Freud later added acts of aggression) would have emotional consequences (pp. 33-55). Freud was of the belief that the actions of men and women were directed by their innate sexual (and aggressive) instincts which demanded expression in order that they may be satisfied; however, if such instincts were allowed complete freedom and discharge, civilization and social advancement would be rendered impossible. Civilized society, then, was viewed as conditional upon the suppression of humans sexual and aggressive impulses, and yet it was the conflict between intrapsychic forces and

societal demands that resulted in psychological disturbances - neuroses. The choice which Freud felt all persons face was one of suppressing their instinctual nature for the gains of living in a peaceful, civilized, and advanced society, but at the expense of psychological conflict and anxiety. Alternatively, were they to experience the pleasure of venting their erotic and hostile drives, they would be committing themselves to a world based on narcissism, anarchy, and ultimately a society which would be reduced to a Hobbesian war of each against all (Fromm, 1973, p. 40).

Freud claimed that society made several primary demands on the individual, all of which were in conflict with his natural state. The first was the insistence on the genitals occupying the supreme role when it came to erotic pleasure. The second was the requirement that reproduction be the goal of intercourse. The third was the prerequisite that marriage be preceded by a life of sexual abstinence. And the fourth was the attempt by educational authorities to curtail the awareness of youth regarding sexual matters (pp. 40-51). What Freud was attempting to convey was the lack of understanding that existed in society about the instinctual needs of man. For example, society does not tolerate infantile fixations to a pregenital zone in which the primacy of the genitals are never realized and the goal of reproduction is rejected. In response to such an occurrence there are two possible outcomes, both involving a psychological cost. In the first instance the individual may choose to continue to exercise what society regards as his deviant behaviour, but at the expense of being labelled a social pariah or psychological casualty and accordingly, the emotional pain and suffering this would entail.

Erving Goffman's book 'Stigma' (1963) is a classic sociological account of the negative repercussions which people with identifiable social stigmas endure. Goffman poignantly describes individuals who must cope with being socially discredited for failing to conform to a standard which is accepted as *normal*. He highlights the extent to which specific individuals are stigmatized for failing to conform to a societal norm, for example, the convict, the former patient of a mental institution, and those who are considered sexual deviants within which he includes homosexuals and prostitutes, are constantly forced to adjust to their precarious social identities as their personal identity is repeatedly confronted and affronted by the negative reflected appraisals of others. Similarly, but alternatively, under the influence of social pressure an individual may choose to suppress what society would label as perverse in order that he may be accepted in the larger social circle. Despite such attempts Freud felt that underlying impulses would manifest themselves in other ways and be equally injurious in the form of psychological symptoms. 'I have described the neuroses as the "negative" of the perversions because in the neuroses the perverse impulses, after being repressed, manifest themselves from the unconscious part of the mind - because the neuroses contain the same tendencies, though in a state of "repression", as do the positive perversions' (1908, p. 43). In other words, Freud felt that neurotic behaviour was the flip-side of perverse behaviour; that persons who evidence neurotic symptoms express the same kind of inclinations, albeit in a different form, as persons whose behaviour is identified as perverse. In support of this assertion Freud noted how members from the same generation within a family often reveal symptoms that appear completely unrelated and yet he felt were closely associated. For example, while a brother's sexual behaviour may be

publicly denounced as immoral and perverse, and his sister's appears the antithesis through which she receives social respect and approval on the basis that her actions conform to society's criteria of acceptance, privately she is extremely neurotic (pp. 43-44). What Freud was wanting to emphasize was that the practise of society labelling certain sexual behaviour as *perverse* was essentially a lack of understanding as to the numerous sexual avenues that were available to each individual in the course of their development. Likewise, neurotic or psychological disturbances may be understood as the repression of the same impulses and desires that the sexual pervert manifests.

With reference to the prohibition of premarital sex, Freud felt that such an achievement was basically impossible, and that even within the institution of marriage itself, satisfaction would be limited. The 'mastering by sublimation the practise of sexual abstinence until marriage, by deflecting the sexual instinctual forces away from their sexual aim to higher cultural aims, can be achieved by a minority and then only intermittently . . . Most of the rest become neurotic or are harmed in one way or another' (1908, p. 45). Within marriage, it was society's rules and regulations governing when, where and how the act was performed, that Freud felt would be responsible for its relative lack of satisfaction. Methods of birth control which impair sexual spontaneity, religious prohibitions, fear of unwanted pregnancy, and sexual ignorance on the part of the couple, besides negating the physical pleasure of sexual intimacy, induce the individuals involved to construct barriers to suppress and deflect what, in Freud's mind, continued to be unmet frustrated desires.

The Role of Education in Promoting Social Advancement and Neurosis

In his discussion about education and its relationship to sexuality Freud emphasized the necessity for educators to quell humans instinctual need to procreate if advanced civilization was going to be possible; however, he was critical of its efforts to both deny the child any sensual pleasure it may receive from its body or awareness about sexuality in general. Freud's remarks were directed here primarily toward the girl for whom he felt an atmosphere of greater sexual confinement existed compared with the boy; hence, the actions of parents and teachers emphasized the forbidding of premarital sex, placed virginity as the highest of virtues, took extreme efforts to keep her ignorant of the facts concerning the sexes, and would not tolerate any impulse of love which was not in the interest of marriage (1908, p. 49). The consequences of conforming to these environmental restrictions were said to extend into the girl's marital relationship, mental health, and intellectual endeavours. For example, Freud believed that women would be ill prepared for any kind of physical intimacy when they entered into marriage. The absence of either pleasure from the sexual act or the desire to be an active participant, were common symptoms. 'In her mental feelings she is still attached to her parents, whose authority has brought about the suppression of her sexuality; and in her physical behaviour she shows herself frigid, which deprives the man of any high degree of sexual enjoyment' (1908, pp. 49-50). Further, even in the event of the girl's ability to break free of her sexual restraints and acquire the ability to enjoy physical intimacy, Freud felt that the relationship with her husband would have suffered irreparable damage and neurosis would ensue. In explanation of this he reasoned

that the reality of unrequited desire would result in the woman being faced with the choices of infidelity which would bring about social disapproval, or the incessant conflict between her internal wishes and the restrictions of internalized social prohibitions that would lead to neurosis. While the choice of unfaithfulness appeared the most reasonable to Freud as it would permit the satisfaction of instinctual needs and avoid neurotic conflict, he felt that because the girl was required to submit to a rigid set of social standards concerning sexual conduct, she would select the option of neurosis. 'Nothing protects her virtue as securely as an illness' (ibid. p. 47). Finally, it was societies general forbidding of any intellectual indulgence on the part of girl's with respect to questions concerning sex, that Freud asserted would provide the prototype for an aversive response to any activities of an intellectual nature. Such reasoning was posited as the psychological basis behind the girl's relative intellectual weakness. 'I think that the undoubted intellectual inferiority of so many women can be traced back to the inhibition of thought necessitated by sexual suppression' (1908, p. 51).

Innate Constitution and Sublimation

Although Freud felt that humans had the potential to convert the driving force behind their sexual instinct into social, cultural, and professional achievements, he did feel that the success of this task was relative to the individual's particular make-up, and therefore cases of psychological abnormalities would be inevitable. 'It seems to us that it is the innate constitution of each individual which decides in the first instance how large a part of his sexual instinct it will

be possible to sublimate and make use of (pp. 39-40). From Freud's point of view it was each person's respective ability to sublimate or psychologically balance the strength of their inner sexual needs with the demands imposed by society, that would result in the degree to which they achieved a relative state of mental health or pathology.

Object Relations - A Working Definition

Object relations theory began with the assertion that people react to and interact with not only individuals in physical reality but persons in psychic reality as well. We are influenced by both the external persons with whom we deal in the present, and the internalized images of persons from our past. According to specifically relational object relations theorists, that is, Fairbairn, Guntrip, and Winnicott, our relational experiences with other objects, specifically our parents, become and form the unconscious substance which guides and directs our lives. The internalized *object relational experiences* that stem from the central figures of our past are said to exert more power and influence over our emotional and physical state than the actual persons with whom we currently interact. This point was made clear during Freud's first attempt at psychoanalytic treatment with Anna O (Breuer and Freud, 1893-1895). What emerged from Anna's reported belief that Breuer was acting as her lover rather than her physician was Freud's concept of transference. Transference negated the assumption that the objects about which patients discuss will necessarily correspond with an accurate account of those in the external world. This implied that whatever persons, events, interests, or activities were included in an individual's dialogue

could be accepted as an extension of and reflect the nature of their formative relational experiences with others. Used in its most general sense *Object Relations* identifies theories or components of theories that are concerned with exploring the relationship between (a) people (and their component parts) in physical reality, (b) internal and internalized images and residues of relations with those objects in physical reality, and (c) the significance of those images and residues for psychological functioning.

Freud's Understanding of Object Relations

Freud's fundamental vision of the human condition was embodied in what Eagle (1984) calls a *drive reduction model*. Eagle argues that it was Freud's contention that the nature of all human behaviour, whether it be cognitive, interpersonal, or social, could be explained as basically a direct or indirect expression of drive gratification. All behaviour, therefore, was seen as an attempt to gratify the primary drives of sex and aggression. Freud felt that such a tendency ensured a survival value for humans in the sense that if sexual or aggressive energy remained undischarged, it would grow to a point where the individual would be damaged. It was this excessive tension which Freud regarded as the basic psychic danger facing all individuals. On the other hand, Freud (1887-1902) posited that it was precisely due to our inability to instantly release our instinctual drives, that provided the impetus for the development of thinking and other ego functions. From this aspect of his theory it may be surmised that although a person will experience the wish to have their innate drives immediately satisfied, the core of human

functioning is in conflict with the constraints imposed by social and physical reality through which delays, frustrations, and limitations are inevitable (1933, pp. 19-20). Consequently, people are compelled to seek other avenues through which instinctual satisfaction may be achieved. It is the result of reality, then, that people are forced to overcome what Freud called the *primal hatred* of objects, which arise from the independent and inconsistent nurturing qualities of their caretakers, to which they initially looked for drive gratification (1915).

The Classical Account of Why People Pursue Relationships With External Objects

The importance of a person's interest in objects was, for Freud, their role as 'the thing in regard to which or through which the instinct is able to achieve its aim' (1915, p. 122). What this implied was that were it possible to satisfy our instinctual nature through just the act of wishing, the desire to explore other objects or develop relationships with others would cease, and the capacity for cognitive thought would not proceed beyond a particular longing. If an infant's wish for the breast, for example, or the presence of its mother could be satisfied solely by a wish without her actual presence, interest in objects and the establishment of object relations would no longer be necessary. Expressed in Freud's own words '... despite hallucinatory activity, satisfaction does not follow; the need persists which in turn forces the psychic apparatus to seek out other patterns which lead eventually to the desired perceptual identity being established from the direction of the external world' (1900, p. 605). Despite the development of cognitive abilities, then, (and by implication the desire to form relationships with objects), Freud felt that

the wish for instinctual gratification remained the catalyst behind such actions. ' . . . all this activity of thought merely constitutes a roundabout path to wish-fulfilment which has been made necessary by experience. Thought is after all nothing but a substitute for a hallucinating wish . . .' (1900, pp. 605-8).

A child's bond to its mother, in addition to all subsequent attachments, is understood within classical psychoanalytic thought in terms of the mother's role in providing experiences of instinctual gratification and preventing excessive stimulation that would result from the build-up of drive tensions, primarily in the form of nourishment (Freud 1940, p. 188). To the extent that Freud viewed the need for interpersonal relationships as deriving their strength from their association with instinctual gratification, the origin of object relations may be assigned what Bowlby (1969) calls a *secondary drive* theory of mother-child attachment. The instinctual drives which are seen as having their roots in biology assume the status of *primary drive* and represent the nucleus of personality construction, while interpersonal and social relations are seen as byproducts of this core. It was from this account of the role and function of objects that Freud based his views on how interpersonal attachments were developed. It was primarily his instinct theory or drive reduction model of human behaviour which lay at the root of the classical explanation of relations with other objects.

Object Relations and the Oedipus Complex

The Oedipus complex represented the pivotal developmental phase for Freud through which sexual orientation and gender identification were solidified (1933, pp. 145-69). It has been noted that the boy's identification with his father stemmed from castration anxiety, which originated from the wish to pursue the mother sexually, which was accompanied by the explicit or implicit threat of physical retaliation from the father through this form, which arose from the instinctual drive for sexual gratification (pp. 118-19). Rather than the girl's Oedipus complex being destroyed as a result of castration anxiety, it was the hostility she felt toward her mother for failing to provide her with a penis (castration complex) which induced her to turn away from the mother (pre-oedipal or negative Oedipus complex), to her father from whom she hoped to obtain a baby (initially a penis), by way of compensation (post-oedipal or positive Oedipus complex). The girl's identification with her mother, then, required that she change direction with respect to both her sexual organ and her sexual object. The pleasure she derives from the stimulation of her clitoris (masculine character) must be abandoned in favour of the vagina if femininity was to be possible. Similarly, she must not only turn from her mother to her father, but subsequently rescind her incestuous wishes for him for fear of her mother's abandonment, which induced identification with the same sexed parent so as to become a woman like her who may gain the love of a man like her father (Lidz 1976, pp. 230-34). This entire process is founded on Freud's assumption that the primary motivating force behind identification with the mother, in the case of the girl, and the father, in the case of the boy, is the frustrated drive for sexual gratification

and the aggressive hostility this entails. We may deduce that the object relations which develop between a mother and daughter and a father and son are, according to Freudian thought, derivatives of these primary drives rather than the mother and father being important in and of themselves.

Object Relations - Klein and Fairbairn

It is important to be clear that, although Klein and Fairbairn both represent theoretical positions in which relationships with other objects constitute the primary determinant in the psychological make-up of humans, there is a fundamental difference. Klein and Freud both believed that how an object was perceived by the infant would largely be the result of factors outside of the external world. Much like the instinctual determinism of Freud, Klein claimed that the individual has a constitutional awareness about objects, ‘... a universal knowledge which included images of breasts, penises, the womb, babies, perfection, poison, explosions, and disasters’ (1932, p. 195) that operated in association with innate drives thereby taking place through such developmental concepts as aggression and hate, death and destruction, love, guilt and reparation, envy, paranoia, and depression, among others (Klein 1975). Accordingly, infants are viewed as born with the makings of their own unique prearranged unconscious worlds from which they proceed to develop, organize, and function in the external environment. Mental health is viewed as a relatively achieved balance between the conflicting constitutional drives of love and hate, envy and gratitude, fear and projection, destructive rage and loving reparation, operating

primarily in relation to internal, and, to a much lesser extent, external objects. Minimal consideration is given to the impact of the external world on the construction of the internal world of another. Conversely, for Fairbairn the unconscious is understood to be largely a direct byproduct of what actually transpires between a child and the significant figures in its life. Psychological trauma is not seen as an inevitable part of life which every individual is required to work through, but as the outcome of direct relational experience. Individuals are not said to routinely engage in aggressive acts, displays of hate, or the harbouring of unconscious guilt, unless their fundamental emotional needs were inadequately met during the period of development when absolute dependence was in effect. In marked opposition to Klein, Fairbairn would claim that a child does not seek to destroy its mother, fear retaliation, or experience guilt, depression, and need for reparation from the thought of attacking the very figure for whom it is presumed to love but also hate. Fairbairn implies that such feelings are only possible through interactive patterns between a child and its provider in which emotions of this kind would be provoked. What for Klein were the inevitable struggles with which all persons must cope, for Fairbairn were developmental disturbances (Fairbairn 1952, 1954). Therefore, the extent to which the formation of an inner world is characterized by relative distress and conflict versus comfort and contentment, is, from his distinctly relational perspective, largely shaped by the emotional nourishment that is received (or absent) through the ministrations of the parent(s), as opposed to any claim of pathological autonomy.

Fairbairn's Account of Why People Pursue Relationships With External Objects

Fairbairn's theory of psychological development is based on an explicit and outright rejection of Freudian instinct theory. He dismissed Freud's view that behaviour was the result of directionless tension seeking release, or the expression of sexual and aggressive instincts which are tamed by social constraints. He disagreed with the classical view that humans pursue relationships with others because of their need to obtain instinctual gratification which alleviates the potentially harmful effects of mounting energy. Alternatively, he proposed that human experience and behaviour is motivated by the search for and maintenance of emotional contact with others. He argued that it was conceptually meaningless to speak of a person outside the context of their relations with others; that it was 'impossible to gain any adequate conception of the nature of the individual organism if it is considered apart from its natural objects; for it is only in its relationships to these objects that its true nature is displayed' (1946, p. 139). 'The ultimate principle from which the whole of my special views are derived may be formulated in the general proposition that libido (self) is not primarily pleasure-seeking, but object-seeking' (1952, p. 137).

Fairbairn takes the position that humans have an innate need to form meaningful bonds with others, and to that extent will shape themselves to the relational conditions to which they are exposed. He argued that the human infant was just as oriented toward the mother as are lower animals, but without preprogrammed instinctive behaviours; consequently, their path to her was

more 'roughly charted' (1946, p. 140). As a result of the absence of built-in patterns of interaction Fairbairn reasoned that it takes the human infant time to negotiate how to make contact and organize their relations with the central persons in their lives. The frequency with which incidents of deprivation occur at the hands of the mother were felt to be strongly influenced by society's interference with the mother-infant bond. In contrast to the mothers of infant animals whose physical proximity remains for as long as the helplessness and dependency requires, Fairbairn observed that humans often sever such bonds prematurely due to economic and societal pressures. It is the relations that the child establishes with its mother (and father) that are viewed as primary, while the concept of psychosexual stages (erogenous zones) are understood as channels through which sensual pleasures are used by the individual for occasions of contact through which relations with others are developed and maintained. 'It is not the libidinal attitude which determines the object-relationship, but the object-relationship which determines the libidinal attitude' (1941, p. 34).

Fairbairn's Rejection of the Classical Division of Id-Ego

For Fairbairn the development of personality is not divided into Freud's proposed psychic divisions of structureless energy (id) and energyless structure (ego), rather, the ego is understood as a structure with its own dynamic aims. It was his view that what are repressed are not id impulses but split-off ego structures and internalized objects as a result of experiences that were felt to be intolerably bad. Fairbairn felt that the ego represented the core of rational and affective

growth. In this sense his theory may be seen as a corollary of ego psychology in that personality development and psychopathology are examined from the point of view of the ego's relationship with both external and internalized objects, but with the rejection of any id-ego paradigm wherein the child is said to be motivated by instinctual forces. The concept of *ego splitting* plays a central role in Fairbairn's theorizing and is proposed to be involved in varying degrees in both schizophrenia and neurosis. For Freud it was the infant's own prohibited wish or impulse that he felt represented the origin for psychological defence. Due to the fear of retaliation from the parents for prohibited desires and feelings, the infant was said to deny and reject the acceptance of any personal ownership of such impulses. The origin of the need for psychic defence was for Freud, an attempt to make external what he believed was internal. In marked contrast, for Fairbairn the origin of psychological defence is the negative, rejecting, and depriving experiences provided by external objects which prompts the need to internalize the external *badness* of a hostile and threatening environment in an effort to control the anxiety this represents. Intrapsychic conflict is not conceptualized in terms of an id-ego model, but in terms of splits in the ego (Eagle 1984, pp. 75-88). Freud's proposed need for tension reduction to avert individual psychic damage is for Fairbairn a failure of some component of the primary object relationship. The individual who experiences the need to vent an excessive build-up of energy does not, according to Fairbairn, do so to satisfy instinctual demands. Instead, it is because of a failure to meet an emotional need(s) during early development. Attempts to achieve pure pleasure through the habitual use of drugs, alcohol, food, sex, money, and material possessions, for example, are rejected by Fairbairn as a function of true libidinal aims. It is only through the

failure and deterioration of the individual's need to establish satisfying relations with the central figures in its life, that substitute satisfactions are used in an attempt to ameliorate the unconscious sense of inner emptiness and hopelessness associated with the individual's experience with reality. Similarly, rather than aggressive actions being accepted as a constitutional component of human functioning, within this paradigm they are understood as a direct response to neglect, deprivation, and excessive frustration of the need and desire to establish satisfying relations with others. Both hedonistic and aggressive behaviour, then, are seen as attempts to cope with primary relational disappointments. 'It is not a means of achieving libidinal aims (which are, of course, object relational), but a means of mitigating the failure of these aims' (Fairbairn 1952, p. 140).

Critical Evaluation of Freudian Instinct Theory

The critique of the classical psychoanalytic views on the development of the individual will begin with an examination of Freud's claim that all persons are propelled by the pursuit of instinctual gratification. This position will be investigated on the basis of the following: John Bowlby's (1969, 1973, 1980) founding work on infant attachment, separation, and loss; Rene Spitz' demonstrated link between attachment and physiology; additional research which supports the social and physiological properties of attachment; the controversy surrounding institutionalized day care; Mary Ainsworth's established long-term effects of different forms of maternal care on infants and the implications of the research of Konrad Lorenz and Harry

Harlow from the areas of ornithology and primates, on attachment amongst the human species.

The Classical Account of Human's Need for Instinctual Gratification

Before proceeding to critically examine the basis to Freud's views on functioning of human beings, the following is offered as a summary. First, all human behaviour was felt to originate from our presumed innate sexual and aggressive instincts, with the latter emerging from the former (1933, pp. 128-41). Second, it was in response to the curtailing or negating of the free expression of sexual activity that aggressive behaviour was anticipated to occur (pp. 136-44). While at times he argued in favour of an independent aggressive instinct (1921, p. 131), for the most part Freud felt that '... the aggressive instincts are never alone but always alloyed with the erotic ones' (1933, p. 144). Third, sexual instinct, energy, force, need, affectionate current, or his own term, *libido*, were all used to convey essentially the same understanding of human behaviour having the expressed goal of satisfying the need for sexual gratification. For the infant it was the breast and the experience of sucking that was proposed to make it the first object of the child's sexual instinct, thereby establishing itself as the prototype for every later sexual satisfaction (1916-17, p. 356). It was Freud's contention that beyond the nutritive function of incorporating the mother's milk from the breast, the child gained an erotic pleasure from this act that could be equated with orgasm, and that it was the sexual excitation and satisfaction that was derived from sensual sucking that represented the starting point and impetus behind every subsequent action (p. 355). Fourth, accordingly, what lay at the core of the child's personality

were instinctual or primary drives from which interpersonal relations and sociability arose. The child's desire to be in physical contact with the mother and form later relationships with others was said to be secondary to the need for instinctual gratification. An alternative account is offered.

Attachment Theory and the Work of Bowlby

Although the work of Bowlby is not generally included within the core group of individuals who are associated with the origin of object relations theory (Klein, Fairbairn, Sullivan, Balint, Winnicott, Guntrip), his work on attachment lends considerable support to many of the relational claims made by Fairbairn, as well as other specifically relational analytic theorists.

Attachment theory regards the propensity to make intimate emotional bonds to particular individuals as a basic component of human nature, already present in germinal form in the neonate and continuing through adult life into old age. During infancy and childhood bonds are with parents (or parent substitutes) who are looked to for protection, comfort, and support . . . Within the attachment framework therefore, intimate emotional bonds are seen as neither subordinate to nor derivative of food and sex. Nor is the urgent desire for comfort and support during adversity regarded as childish, as dependency theory implies. Instead the capacity to make intimate emotional bonds with other individuals, sometimes in the care seeking role and sometimes in the care giving one, is regarded as a principal feature of effective personality functioning and mental health (Bowlby 1988, pp. 120-21).

According to Bowlby, then, the child is born with the innate capacity to keep its mother from venturing away from it; a genetic survival endowment, so to speak, in the form of crying, which, when such primitive vocalizations are uttered, the ordinary mother responds *in pursuit of him or her*. It is only later, following the infant's developing physical abilities that attachment

behaviours become more sophisticated. Initially, such attempts will be demonstrated in the form of reaching, grasping, crawling, all in an effort to bring together this essential unit (Bowlby 1969). Primeval as the initial sounds of the infant may appear, however, what is indiscriminate noise to the stranger, is to the ear of a mother, distinct messages which convey the difference between hunger, pain, fatigue, and discomfort, to name some, which amounts to more than mere conjecture (Zeskind et al. 1993). Overtime, these basic relational propensities will graduate from a nonspecific scream, to more specifically directed requests, for example, 'Mummy, I need you!'

The predilection that a newborn has for its mother has been shown through a number of studies. DeCasper and Fifer (1980) found that babies demonstrate distinct physiological responses to the voice and face of their mother within thirty-six hours of birth. Further, not only her voice, but the actual language being spoken, even by a stranger, evidenced significant reactions (Moon et al. 1993; Fifer and Moon 1994). Such findings are interpreted here as indicative of the rapid rate with which infants learn about their external worlds. It should be noted however that such inclinations were not shown in connection with fathers, suggesting that such preferences are reflective of what transpires before birth, that is, *learning in the womb*. Surrounded for nine months by the mother's tone and language patterns, a baby begins to unconsciously decipher and integrate them into who he or she will become. Following birth, a baby slowly orients itself to the familiar sounds and smells of its mother, favouring her over all others. In doing so, it demonstrates the unconscious memory which emanated from intrauterine attachment. The effects of the desire for attachment continue to be evidenced throughout our lives, most notably

during moments when, as infants, we are confronted with unfamiliar persons, places, sickness, fear, imposed separations, among others (Hofer 1984). Similarly, as adults, we know that traumatic experiences draw us together, the September 11, 2001 terrorist attack on New York's World Trade Centre being a recent poignant memory of just such a case. The desire and need for attachment is frequently confused as indicative of immaturity, the achievement of independence and self-sufficiency being thought of as the prizes of true adulthood. Sadly, such cultural attitudes influence the degree to which overt signs of emotional connectedness between people, particularly for males within North American society, so it would seem, dissipate with the years of growth. And yet, the evidence of the enduring quality of attachment remains for the astute observer. We hug our loved ones and friends when they depart and arrive in our lives, which some might dismiss as simply being customary. However, when one carefully examines the intensity of the anticipated arrival, the relief and joy that follows confirmation of the expected figure, the style of the embrace, or the response to the threat or actual severing of such bonds, the evidence of the strength of our affinity for one another is clear.

Critical Evaluation of Bowlby's Theory

Bowlby's primary contribution to the psychological development of human beings was to demonstrate that rather than the child's attachment to the mother being important as a derivative of the child's primary physiological and sensual needs, it is significant in and of itself. Anna Freud claimed that the child was incapable of experiencing true mourning following the loss of

its mother, but only a transient reaction to the deprivation of her satisfying its instinctual needs until such time that they were provided by another object. Bowlby is lauded for the discovery and expansion of his realization that children do mourn the absence and loss of the central figure in their lives, indicating the strength and fundamental part played by primary attachment in the psychic formation of all persons. Nevertheless, it should be noted that Bowlby's claim that attachment amongst mammals constitutes a primary process which holds an equal position to that of food and water as a physiological need, was viewed with rejection and disdain by the analytic elite of his day. 'We do not deal with happenings in the external world as such but with their repercussions in the mind' (Freud 1960). Anna Freud was denigrating Bowlby for engaging in realism. By taking psychoanalysis outside of the internal dynamics of the mind and placing it within the context of the external world, he was guilty of what was viewed as psychoanalytic apostasy.

Within more recent times Bowlby's views have been treated with skepticism as to whether they should even be considered analytic (Robert 1994). Robert further implies that Bowlby placed too much emphasis on species survival and not enough on the individual meaning assigned to the particular relational experiences of individuals. Rather than accepting Bowlby's understanding of all anxiety being the result of premature separation from the mother which would inevitably lead to prolonged anger, sadness, depression, and despair, Adam et al. (1995), note that he fails to acknowledge the *relative* degrees of success and failure that are achieved between all mothers and their infants, which subsequently generate different levels of

vulnerability to feelings of loss, anxiety, sadness, and depression, among others. Similarly, Parker (1995), implicitly criticizes attachment theory for omitting the different kinds of innate temperaments that infants have. Such temperaments are said to strongly facilitate the degree with which not only positive, but negative emotions as well, will be featured in connection with all attachment processes and subsequent behaviours, rather than the assumption of an outcome which is either exclusively positive or negative. Cloninger et al. (1993), Brennan et al. (1997), and Raine et al. (1994), for example, propose that some cases of antisocial and criminal behaviour are the result, in part, of inherited temperament. More contemporary research, then, indicates that the process of mother-infant bonding is more complex than Bowlby had originally suggested.

The Absence of Physical Contact and Infant Mortality

There is further evidence among children that despite adequate nutrition and medical care, inadequate maternal attention in the form of physical contact and comforting was directly associated with developmental disturbances as well as high mortality rates. Rene Spitz (1945) described the fate of orphaned children reared in foster homes and institutions, as well as babies separated from young mothers in prison. In deference to the validated germ theory of disease that had become known around this period in history, institutionalized infants were fed, clothed, and kept warm and clean but were not played with, handled, or held. It was believed that human contact would risk exposing these children to hazardous infectious organisms. What Spitz

discovered was that despite the child's physical needs being met, they soon became withdrawn and sickly. Ironically, these were the babies that displayed a significant vulnerability to the very infections that their isolation was intended to ward off. More specifically, whereas the mortality rate in the community for children living outside foster homes and institutional care facilities was less than one percent, forty percent of those children in care who had contracted measles died from the virus. Those centres that were viewed as the best equipped and most hygienic were where the most deaths occurred. The death rates in these *sterile* nurseries at the turn of the century were routinely above seventy-five percent (Spitz 1945). Spitz had either uncovered or rediscovered that the absence of human interaction by means of physical contact in the form of play, hugging, caressing, bathing, among others, can be fatal to infants.

Regulating Physiology and Socialization Through Contact

In a study which compared premature infants who slept with a standard teddy bear to those supplied with an artificial *breathing* bear, that is, a stuffed animal that had been connected to a ventilator and set to inflate or deflate at a rhythmic level approximating that of the baby's own respiratory rate (Thoman et al. 1991; Ingersoll and Thoman 1994) the infants with the breathing bear evidenced quieter sleeps and more regular respiration than those who did not. The regular rhythmic breathing of the bear which emulated the breathing of a human mother appeared to teach the premature infants respiratory stability. An infant's physiology is dependent upon contact with others which will subsequently serve to regulate physiological processes. It would

seem that through the ministrations of their parents, as infants we implicitly learn over time to manage our own physiologic rhythms independent of our parents, without ever completely relinquishing the need to be in contact with an other who we can reciprocally regulate our respective emotional and physiological health. Similarly, although infant monkeys may survive such deprivation, Kraemer (1992), Martin et al. (1991), and Lewis et al. (1990) have demonstrated that the absence of social, sensory, and physical nurturing can permanently maim the neural, behavioural, and emotional systems of primates. Monkeys raised in isolation, for example, cannot engage in reciprocal social interactions with their peers (Kraemer, 1992). They are unable to mate, and even when solo-reared females were artificially impregnated, they showed a striking lack of affect toward their offspring, alternating between indifference and savage attacks. Of equal importance was the finding that as adults these monkeys would often fight to the death, rather than the usual submission once dominance was established. Further, various forms of self mutilation were observed including the biting of arms, banging of heads against a wall, and gouging of their own eyes. Even nourishment in the form of eating and drinking took the form of frequent prolonged food and water binges. The point is that a primate's neurological, physiological, and emotional framework for approaching life seems to require that it be guided via a particular form of contact with others. It cannot self-assemble independently. It is not born preprogrammed. It needs consistent and coherent guidance and support.

Infant Mortality and Sleeping Arrangements

It is interesting that despite the general recognition of the importance of the emotional connection and physical availability between a parent and infant, western culture traditionally curtails this need at night, operating on the tacit understanding that a baby should not sleep with the parents. In his discussion 'On the multifarious hazards of cosleeping' Ferber (1986) states that 'If you allow him to crawl in between you and your spouse, in a sense separating the two of you, he may feel too powerful and become worried. . . He may begin to worry that he will cause the two of you to separate, and if you ever do he may feel responsible.' He suggests that the trouble with letting a child who fears sleeping alone, into your bed, is that the problem and reason for why it is so fearful, remains. An evolutionary psychologist, Wright (1997) offers one possible explanation.

Maybe your child's brain was designed by natural selection over millions of years during which mothers slept with their babies. Maybe back then if babies found themselves completely alone at night it often meant something horrific had happened - the mother had been eaten by a beast, say. Maybe the young brain is designed to respond to this situation by screaming frantically so that any relatives within earshot will discover the child. Maybe, in short, the reason that kids left alone sound terrified is that kids left alone naturally get terrified. Just a theory (p. 89).

Even the prominent and influential Benjamin Spock commented in his book *Dr. Spock's Baby and Child Care* that 'I think it's a sensible rule not to take a child into the parents' bed for any reason' (Spock, 1945 p. 169). Wright (1997) and McKenna (1996) provide research from both evolutionary psychology and cross-cultural sociology which points out that it is in the western world's practise of parents sleeping away from their newborns that is a global and historical

singular habit. They demonstrate that until quite recently in human history almost all the world's parents slept with their infants.

Sudden Infant Death Syndrome and Sleeping Arrangements

What parents had been formerly informed was crib death is now termed *Sudden Infant Death Syndrome* or SIDS. The cause of this syndrome remains a mystery. While some of these cases have been reclassified as covert homicides, in the vast majority of such deaths there is no physical or environmental abnormality. Disparate rates in different societies, however, suggest a cultural component. Despite medical technology and advanced pediatric care, the United States reports the highest incidence of SIDS in the world. Their rate of two deaths for every 1,000 births is ten times the rate for Japan, and 100 times the rate for Hong Kong (McKenna 1996). In a unique study of mother-infant sleep environments, McKenna provides further evidence that a sleeping mother and infant share far more than merely a mattress. Their physiologic rhythms while sleeping exhibit a mutual concordance and synchronicity that McKenna theorizes are life-sustaining for the child. He noted that paired mothers and infants display more neural arousal and change than their solitary counterparts, which, he speculates, serves to protect infants from the possibility of respiratory arrest. Similarly, McKenna found that cosleeping infants breast-fed three times as much as solo ones, and were always in the supine position, two additional factors that protect against SIDS. It is noteworthy that those countries and cultures with the lowest incidence of SIDS are also the ones with widespread cosleeping

practices between mothers and infants. The steady rhythm of an adult heart and the regular influx of breath seem to coordinate the ebb and flow of a neonates internal physiology. This is the same mechanism that allows the rhythmic melody of a clock to help regularize the restless sleep of puppies newly taken from their mother. Mitchell et al. (1992) note that the incidence of SIDS increased four times in babies whose mothers who had been previously depressed. Mitchell et al. (1992) also found that the heart rhythms of securely attached babies are steadier than those with insecure relationships. In the same way that the *breathing teddy bear* served to regularize the respiration of prematurely born infants, the mutual concordance between a parent and child which transcend the mere provision of food and drink, becomes a physiological lifeline.

Home Care, Day Care, Nanny?

Surpassing the acrimonious debate about how to care for our children throughout the night is the explosive conflict over the correct management during their daytime hours. Many young children who at one time spent most of their days with their mothers, no longer do. A spectrum of surrogates occupy modern babies and toddlers which include relatives, live-in au pairs, nannies, neighbours, institutional day care workers, often in conjunction with television programs, videos, and interactive computer games. Some researchers claim that a child does not suffer from a mother who is gainfully employed and therefore absent throughout the day. 'It is the quality of care not the quantity of time spent that is the deciding factor', so the argument goes. 'An infant is far better off in the hands of someone who wants to care for it, as a opposed

to a frustrated mother who feels compelled to meet the needs of her child when she would rather be fulfilling her career.' The question to be answered, then, is 'Does it make a difference with whom a young child passes its time?' So long as its attention is fruitfully occupied, and it is in the company of a competent caring individual, does it matter whether this person is a parent, grandmother, nanny, neighbour, stranger, or an electronic device? The answer is perhaps best provided by the child themselves. If it wanted (or needed) only respite from boredom, any colourful distraction would suffice; if it required the reassurance of a protective presence, any adult would do. But decades of personal experiences which are supported by attachment research suggest an alternative conclusion. Children form elaborate, individualized relationships with special, irreplaceable others. It is not that such persons cannot be replaced, it is that the child does not want them replaced. Children who are not afforded the need of prolonged immersion to a single devoted caregiver cannot expect to receive the same benefits from a shared circle of well intentioned surrogates. The child's electronic stewards in the form of television shows, videos, and computer games, are the emotional equivalent of bran; they occupy attention and mental space while providing little nutritional value. Admittedly, the mere presence of a single, constant caretaker cannot ensure emotional well being, since an optimal parent has to be capable and attuned to the wants and needs of his or her child, and we know that not everyone is. The mother who is frustrated by the prospect of her nurturing duties interfering with important career responsibilities represents a problem unto itself, but more importantly, such an obstacle may be questioned for how easily surmounted society suggests such duties to be.

Parents and relatives possess a distinct advantage in the quality of care they provide since their efforts are generally spontaneous labours of love. While there are others who will feel a genuine and abiding fondness for the children they supervise, their affection rarely compares with parental passion. As a general statement, other people's children do not elicit the same degree of selfless devotion that one's own offspring characteristically do. The parent is in the unique position to learn all of the child's subtle cues, personal idiosyncrasies, and minute nuances, and does so with unparalleled commitment, interest, and patience that cannot realistically be replaced by any other or series of others. The successful synchrony between a mother and child is not accomplished in short order. We know that it takes a considerable period of time, patience, and effort for each to absorb unconsciously the other's rhythms and adjust theirs accordingly. Even if it were possible for a surrogate child-care worker to love someone else's child in the fullest sense of the word, the task is complicated by practical considerations. A child-care provider does not just face the complex emotional requirements of a single client's child, but more likely three or four children at a time. A child who is competing with a handful of peers for the emotional focus on an understandably unimpassioned surrogate(s), will likely be shortchanged in comparison with one, primary caretaker who is devoted to and infatuated by the development of their offspring. Further, when do the unavoidable discontinuities of serial caretakers prove incompatible with instilling emotional stability? Western culture promotes as a cornerstone of contemporary life the idea that employable adults should have jobs and careers, and that children are quite capable of developing and functioning with others *in loco parentis*. Mothers who either contemplate or stay home to care for children receive a barrage of criticism which include

such sentiments as: 'You're intelligent, talented, and young; wouldn't you rather actually be *doing* something with your life?' The implication is that the provision of love does not yield tangible results; it does not accomplish what society values and needs. Full-time mothering becomes a personal banner depicting the absence of ambition and squandering of individual potential. In response to this prevalent attitude of contemporary western society the question may be asked as to what single human activity does the outcome carry greater ramifications for our future?

The Work of Ainsworth and the Lasting Impact of Maternal Care

The research of Ainsworth and her followers has provided two decades worth of supportive data on the importance of attachment as a predictor of later emotional traits and functioning. She began by observing how mothers interacted with their infants in a study in which mothers were assigned to one of three different groups based on care-taking styles. One year later she examined these children's emotional response to brief periods of separation. Mothers who were assessed to be consistently attentive, responsive, and sensitive to the needs of their children were observed to have what Ainsworth termed *secure* children. Such children used their mothers as emotional refuelling centres from which to explore the world. They were visibly upset when their mother would leave them but were quickly reassured and delighted by her return. Mothers who were felt to be insensitive, rigid, and resentful of their child's demands, were said to produce *insecure-avoidant* children who evidenced indifference to their mother's departures and often ignored or rejected her upon return. Children of mothers who were distracted or wildly

inconsistent in their ministrations Ainsworth called *insecure-ambivalent* toddlers. They would cling to their mothers when they were with her, were completely distraught when separated, and inconsolable when reunited. Rather than these initial personality factors dissipating over time they were manifested in other consistent patterns for all of the groups. Infants of the responsive mothers matured into early grade-school children who were content, socially competent, affable, persistent, willing and able to resolve problems independently but would solicit help when needed and were empathic toward others. Infants raised by mothers in the group assessed to be cold and aloof developed into children who were emotionally distant and difficult to connect with. They were hostile to authority figures, rejected group activities, would not ask for comfort (even when hurt) and often had a sadistic quality in which they enjoyed provoking and upsetting other children. The children of emotionally erratic mothers became young persons who were socially inept, shy, overly sensitive, easily frustrated, craved attention, lacked confidence, and sought assistance even for tasks that they were capable of completing independently (Ainsworth et al. 1978).

It is important to note that Ainsworth found the security of a child *not* to be the result of how often or how long an infant was picked up or held by its mother, as much as it was the mother picking up and holding the child when the *child* appeared to want and need to be held, put down, fed, put to sleep, in short, knowing that its needs could be reliably, consistently, and promptly relied upon to be met. It was the mothers who were attuned to their infant's inarticulate desires and acted upon them, who produced a mutually satisfying relationship and, ultimately, secure

children for years to follow. Similarly, Stern (1980) offers research to support the position that the strength of the relationship between an infant and its caretaker lies not in the process of feeding per se, when compared with the sharing of activities and complementary experiences by the two parties. 'It is perhaps time to suggest that the experience of being hungry, getting fed, and going blissfully to sleep, even when associated with a particular person, does not lead to subjective intimacy with the feeding person unless accompanied by subject-object complementing and state sharing' (p. 37).

The point behind Ainsworth's research is that children have been followed from infancy into their teenage years with the finding that early attachment patterns continue to be a powerful predictor of later functioning (Bretherton 1985; Karen 1994). 'Securely attached children have a considerable edge in self-esteem and popularity as high school students, while the insecurely attached are proving excessively susceptible to the sad ensnarements of adolescence—delinquency, drugs, pregnancy, AIDS. Almost two decades after birth, a host of academic, social, and personal variables correlate with the kind of mother who gazed down at her child in the cradle' (Lewis et al. 2000, pp. 74-75).

Lorenz and Imprinting

Konrad Lorenz was an Austrian physician who became deeply involved in the scientific study of relatedness in response to the children's book *The Wonderful Adventures of Nils* in which an

adventurous boy joins a flock of migrating geese. 'From then on I yearned to become a wild goose and, on realizing that this was impossible, I desperately wanted to have one' (Lorenz 1973, p. 67). His detailed observations of the waterfowl in his backyard convinced him that much of their behaviour, including mother-offspring bonding, was instinctual. For example, Lorenz surmised that ducklings and goslings have an innate propensity to remain close to their mother while she rests, and likewise, scurry after her when she is moving. Most behavioural scientists are well acquainted with Lorenz's use of the term *imprinting* for the patterned behaviour exhibited by birds (and mammals) to lock onto an early object following birth. Consistent observations by Lorenz revealed an apparent evolutionary equipping of both birds and mammals with the basic neurological rule which dictates, not that they must recognize or discover a parent who will lead them to food and away from danger, but that they must follow *something* that is close at hand and moves. Lorenz discovered that these beings were capable of becoming attached to virtually anything, including inanimate objects. Thus, it has been shown that lambs are capable, given the right set of conditions, of forming bonds to television sets (Cairns 1966), and guinea pigs to wooden blocks (Shipley 1963).

The Work of Harlow and the Views of Freud

Harlow's classic research on infant attachment among monkeys (1958, pp. 673-85) contradicts the position that this occurrence takes place as a secondary condition to the reduction of primary drives like hunger and thirst, or sex and aggression. Relations with other objects appear to

develop out of an independent need to be in contact with objects rather than in the service of biological requirements for survival. Harlow demonstrated that infant monkeys developed a generalized preference for terry-cloth surrogate mothers over milk-dispensing wire surrogates, with the latter only being turned to during times of hunger. Harlow explained that not only was an overall preference shown for the terry-cloth surrogate, but it was clung to and provided a security base particularly during periods when it needed comforting and security, that is, during situations of perceived danger or when faced with unfamiliar stimuli. Similarly, when maternal deprivation was examined for its effects on later development the infant mortality rate of monkeys was affected by the mere presence of a piece of cheesecloth in an otherwise empty cage (Harlow 1958). Monkeys that were denied the opportunity of making contact with a piece of cloth had elevated mortality rates compared with those that did. Even when an infant monkey was able to see, hear, and smell the presence of its mother, the prevention of physical contact between the infant and its mother led to abnormal development and behavioural pathology (Harlow and Zimmerman 1959; Harlow and Harlow 1962; Hinde and Spencer-Booth 1971). It is also important to note that the quality of contact was an important determinant in the development of subsequent pathology. Harlow (1974) found that touch was not a sufficient condition in itself to provide normal development. The presence of other variables that mediated the interaction between a mother and her infant significantly influenced the extent to which healthy versus pathological development occurred (Harlow and Harlow 1972). Preferences for an object that was moving versus stationary, and was warm rather than at room temperature, were additional qualities that influenced later object relations and emotional functioning.

From Animals To Humans

Extrapolations from animal research to the world of humans must be approached with caution, particularly when they are said to pertain to emotional development. However, there are a number of reasons which establish a firm link between Harlow's work on monkey' and that of humans. First, the preferential qualities of contact comfort, warmth, and movement of the objects selected for generalized attachment by infant monkeys are the same characteristics exhibited by human mothers. Second, the animal research of Bowlby (1969, 1988) and human infant research of Ainsworth (1971, 1974, 1978, 1984) and Stern (1974, 1977, 1985) supports a parallel between Harlow's conclusions about the behaviour of monkeys and that of the human species. Ainsworth's research (1974) directly implicates the degree of responsiveness and sensitivity of a mother to the needs of her infant with the subsequent exploratory behaviour, security, and interactive patterns with others by the child. Similarly, Wolkind, Hall, and Pawlby (1977) demonstrated the generational impact of inadequate parenting when they found that high levels of sensitivity to the needs of infants were noticeably absent in mother's who had themselves been separated prematurely from one or both parents due to death, divorce, or extended hospitalization prior to the age of eleven. Third, the role of factors other than hunger and thirst as the means through which the mother-infant union is affected, are likely to be greater, rather than less, as one moves up the phylogenetic scale (Eagle 1984, pp. 10-16). Finally, there are those who represent the position that animal research cannot be accurately used in conjunction with the study of human emotion, since we cannot conclusively state that animals

have emotions. In essence, then, the dismissing of animal research for this purpose rests on the basis that animals do not experience the sentiments that humans do. I begin by responding to such a position by saying that when a puppy who is removed from its mother and litter mates, responds by pawing at the door, is unable to settle, howls incessantly, refuses to eat, and generally *appears* anxious and depressed, that it is reasonable to accept that *it is* anxious and depressed. The approval of such proposed zoological feelings will probably remain a matter of debate, the nature of subjectivity, even regarding what another human being is feeling, being outside the realm of the factual. There are those who have experienced first hand the comfort provided by a pet during a time of crisis or personal illness. We speak of our pets *knowing* when we have had a bad day and responding in a manner which provides solace and elevates our spirits. An attuned owner will describe their feline or canine partner as *not acting like themselves*, or is sullen, excited, exhausted, fatigued, or any variety of adjectives which are used interchangeably between the animal and human kingdom, without being accused of anthropomorphic thinking. For such persons, there is no question that humans and animals are capable of and share a form of communication in which neither words nor intellect are involved, and yet a mutual affective exchange occurs wherein each benefits from the other.

In summary, there is a variety of evidence to support the position that humans have an innate need, not for sexual or aggressive drive gratification, but to develop initial attachments to objects that provide comfort through physical contact. These attachments are not secondary to any type of instinctual satisfaction but are primary in and of themselves. While it may be said that contact

comfort occurs, in part, through the process of maternal attention to the biological needs of the infant, the need for contact supersedes any nutritive needs or sensual pleasures. The manner in which the biological needs are addressed, however, will undoubtedly serve to potentially enhance the quality of this earliest relationship. This collective body of research indicates that the propelling force behind people's development of relationships with others is not the innate *pleasure-seeking* stimulus that Freud asserted existed in the form of the need to gratify sexual instincts, but *object-seeking* stimuli as expressed through the need to search for and form a bond with an object that provides comfort and security, this being the position espoused by Fairbairn. The provision of a secure connection, together with the cumulative results of how the child's emotional needs are met, will result in the unique structure and qualities that every care-giving relationship assumes. As most individuals are born into a situation in which women occupy the primary function of care-provider, the relationship between a mother and her child is taken to be not only the first, but the most important developmental union in the life of every being. Likewise, it is the relationship between a mother and child (and subsequently the father and child) that will serve as the prototype for the subsequent relationships that develop outside of the family. The argument here is that relationships with others, whether they are between persons of the same or opposite sex, will be largely a reflection of the way in which the child's first and essential need for physical comfort from an other was met, in conjunction with the corollary psychological requirements for healthy development. Disturbances within relationships, therefore, are understood as reflective of the problems that arise as a result of the manner in which these needs are addressed within the context of primary attachments, namely,

those via the ministrations of the mother and father. While the role of the father is not dismissed as inconsequential, it is the central importance of the mother's role as the primary object of care, that is viewed as the focal point from which disturbances arise.

Freud's Inconsistency - An Emotional and Cognitive Labyrinth

One of the fundamental problems associated with a consistent understanding of psychoanalysis as a therapeutic modality is the extent to which its history is based on the writings of Freud, which were neither consistent and at times, incomprehensible. It is tempting, then, to look at the many aspects of his writings which are convoluted, confusing, and confused, and reject the entire lot. However, rather than commit the proverbial error of *throwing the baby out with the bath water* which appears the common practice by many Canadian mental health specialists, I think it is potentially useful to point out some examples of the complexity of his thinking, which have a bearing on clinical practice.

One quality of Freud's writing that could be relied upon was the degree to which his expressed views were frequently inconsistent and at times, incompatible with previously stated thoughts. While it is possible to discern some general trends which he followed throughout his life, the absence of a cohesive theory that was free of contradictions made for a theory of human behaviour that at times was confusing, fragmented, and sometimes contradictory. Having been trained to examine disturbances of the body in terms of the natural sciences it is not surprising

that Freud remained committed to this practise throughout his life and attempted to devise a similar paradigm for the emotional side of man. He would frequently present the causal explanations of emotional disturbance in the form of genetic inheritance, chemical imbalance, or biological anomalies. Nevertheless there are a number of examples in his work that reflect the belief that he was dealing with elements that were distinctly psychological rather than somatic in nature. In his discussion of case studies, for example, he noted that:

It follows from the nature of the facts which form the material of psychoanalysis that we are obliged to pay as much attention in our case histories to the purely human and social circumstances of our patients as to the somatic data and the symptoms of the disorder. Above all, our interest will be directed towards their family circumstances - and not only, as will be seen later, for the purpose of enquiring into their heredity (1905, pp. 47-48).

Freud was wanting to stress the central part played by the unique psychological history of every individual that contained their needs as a human being, their experiences as a member of a family, and their role as a social citizen. Despite these claims he would, in the very same discussion, retreat from his position by stating: 'I do not, it is true, adopt the position that heredity is the only aetiological factor in hysteria. But, on the other hand - I do not wish to give an impression of underestimating the importance of heredity in the aetiology of hysteria or of asserting that it can be dispensed with' (p. 50). His views concerning perverse sexual behaviour likewise included a strong emphasis on the role played by society in contributing to neuroses in the face of restrictive and insistent attitudes on the part of parents, educators, and culture in general. 'It is possible to fall ill of a neurosis as a result of a frustration of normal sexual satisfaction . . . you will realize that as a result of this "collateral" damming-back [of the normal sexual current] the perverse impulses must emerge more strongly than they would have if normal sexual satisfaction

had met with no obstacle in the real world' (1916-17, p. 351). His interest in sociology and anthropology was reflected in the extent to which he directed his attention to society as an instrumental force in fostering or curbing neurotic disturbances. For Freud, sexual perversion was to be understood as a response to something external rather than innate, but here again he concedes this point in favour of an implied constitutional predisposition that supersedes any external influence, an attitude which suggests that neurotic disturbances or perverted behaviour is, for some, something that they are merely born with. 'In other cases, it is true, the inclination to perversion is quite independent of such favouring conditions; they are, we might say, the normal species of sexual life for those particular individuals' (1916-17, pp. 351-52). And likewise, 'One gets an impression from civilized children that the construction of these dams is a product of education, and no doubt education has much to do with it. But in reality this development is organically determined and fixed by heredity, and it can occasionally occur without any help at all from education' (1905, p. 93).

Freud's discussion of the psychosexual stages of development was intended to draw our attention beyond the purely biological functions of the body in recognition of the significance of the link between sensual pleasures and psychological development. Of these stages the oedipal period received Freud's most extensive comments as it represented the complexity of the interactive relationship between the mother, father, and child.

What I have in mind is rivalry in love, with a clear emphasis on the subject's sex. While he is still a small child, a son will already begin to develop a special affection for his mother, whom he regards as belonging to him; he begins to feel his father as a rival who disputes his sole possession. And in the same way a little girl looks on her mother as a

person who interferes with her affectionate relation to her father and who occupies a position which she herself could very well fill (1916-17, p. 243).

Further, 'There can be no doubt that the Oedipus complex may be looked upon as one of the most important sources of the sense of guilt by which neurotics are so often tormented' (pp. 374-75). And last, 'In this sense the Oedipus complex may justly be regarded as the nucleus of the neuroses' (p. 380). Despite an exhaustive effort to expand upon what he felt to be the critical role played by the relational triad of the mother-father-child, the process through which the psychological functioning of each individual was thought to result, he included in his discussion of 'The Dissolution of the Oedipus Complex' (1924)) the assertion that 'Although the majority of human beings go through the Oedipus complex as an individual experience, it is nevertheless a phenomenon which is determined and laid down by heredity and which is bound to pass away according to programme when the next pre-ordained phase of development sets in' (p. 315).

And yet at the conclusion of his comments concerning female sexuality he added that:

Since we cannot dismiss the notion that sexual excitation is derived from the operation of certain chemical substances, it seems plausible at first to expect that biochemistry will one day disclose a substance to us whose presence produces a male sexual excitation and another substance which produces a female one. But this hope seems no less naive than the other one - happily obsolete today - that it may be possible under the microscope to isolate the different exciting factors of hysteria, obsessional neurosis, melancholia, and so on (1931, p. 388).

What may we conclude from such statements? While such inconsistency might suggest, what for some appears to be Freud's capricious thinking on various issues throughout his writing, an alternative account is that he continually struggled with an original commitment to which he felt a professional obligation to honour. Having been trained as a neuropathologist he appeared compelled to formulate his discoveries using terms that were congruent with medical science

despite being repeatedly struck by the extent to which human behaviour seemed *not* to be predetermined or governed by the principles of the hard sciences. Alternatively, various actions would be explained to be the result of a series of choices and decisions (albeit not at the conscious level) that were influenced by certain social and cultural factors, the most notable of which being the dynamic relation. While he was certainly influenced by the distinctly human elements of his clinical experiences, the social sciences, as well as the humanities, he would frequently ground these observations in a language more suitable to somatic disturbances despite either an absence of supportive evidence or a preponderance of information confirming more interpersonal accounts for such behaviour. It was almost as if Freud felt that when he had exhausted all the information that substantiated the strength of the cultural or familial meaning behind the symptoms with which he was dealing, or when he was sufficiently frustrated by his inability to do so, he would, by default, add that the natural sciences must have undoubtedly played a substantial role. His *Project for a Scientific Psychology* (cited in 1916-17, p. 16) was perhaps his clearest reluctance to move away from physiology to psychology, and instead state emotional data in neurological terms.

Psychopathology and Everyday Life

In reference to his remarks concerning specific case studies, the erotogenic zones of development, sexual orientation, sexual practises and perversions, the Oedipus complex and the solidifying of gender identity, and the particular love-object selected for subsequent relationships

in the life of the developing child, Freud's writings were infused with a language and attitude that reflected a polarity between determinism and free choice. I would propose that *The Psychopathology of Everyday Life* (Freud 1901) and more specifically, Freud's comments concerning Parapraxes (1916-17, pp. 39-108) was the position most consistently indicative of Freud the humanist versus the determinist. 'We should be able to leave all physiological or psycho-physiological factors on one side and devote ourselves to purely psychological investigation into the sense - that is, the meaning or purpose - of parapraxes' (p. 62). Thus, an individual's apparent human error in the form of a *slip of the tongue, a misreading or mishearing of the written or spoken word, the act of forgetting, misplacing, or losing something*, were all examples of actions that had previously been accepted as simply accidental or commonplace, but which Freud detected were often the result of conflicting emotional thoughts.

The influence of the production of slips of the tongue by physiological dispositions brought about by slight illness, disturbances of the circulation or states of exhaustion, must be recognized at once; daily and personal experiences will convince you of it. But how little they explain! Above all they are not necessary preconditions of parapraxes. Slips of the tongue are just as possible in perfect health and in a normal state. These somatic factors only serve, therefore, to facilitate and favour the peculiar mental mechanism of slips of the tongue (1916-17, p. 72).

This is one of the few examples during Freud's career where he was unequivocal with respect to his feeling that the study of the body offered little in the way of understanding the human psyche. In essence he was asserting that if we are to gain access to a true comprehension of the many disturbances to which we are confronted and with which we must cope, then the focus must be on the individual meaning, intention, and purpose of the actions and feelings that are contained in the unique psychological history of every individual. This was a history that Freud

both highlighted and renounced as being distinctly rich in the interactive elements of the mother, father, and child; a relationship that operated as part of the social fabric and encompassing cultural milieu, and served as the focal point for psychoanalysis to which he felt that the field of medicine was bereft of the means through which therapeutic gains could be achieved.

Your earlier education (as students of medicine) has given a particular direction to your thinking, which leads far away from psychoanalysis. You have been trained to find an anatomical basis for the functions of the organism and their disorders, to explain them chemically and physically and to view them biologically. But no portion of your interest has been directed to psychical life. . . . It is true that psychiatry, as a part of medicine, sets about describing the mental disorders it observes and collecting them into clinical entities; but at favourable moments the psychiatrists themselves have doubts of whether their purely descriptive hypotheses deserve the name of a science. Psychoanalysis tries to give psychiatry its missing psychological foundation. With this aim in view, psychoanalysis must keep itself free from any hypothesis that is alien to it, whether of an anatomical, chemical or physiological kind, and must operate entirely with purely psychological auxiliary ideas (1916-17, pp. 44-45).

Oedipus the King

Freud viewed the Greek legend of Oedipus the King as an abbreviated account for what transpires in the psychic development of all persons. The myth of Oedipus, who was destined by fate to kill his father and marry his mother despite ardent efforts to escape this prophesy, punished himself with blindness when he learned that he had unwittingly committed both of these crimes. On the basis of this information Freud felt that a parallel observation could be made concerning the wishes and actions of children. 'It is the same thing at root' (p. 375). He concluded that the little boy wishes to have exclusive possession of his mother which therefore requires the elimination of the father. Freud's supporting evidence for such a claim is contained

in the series of ideas that the boy perceives the attention that the father directs toward the mother as intrusive on *their* (mother-son) union; feels a particular pleasure with the father's absence; and often openly expresses his desire or intension to marry his mother. It is important to note that while Freud did speak of the mother as an object of love, by *love* he clearly had in mind a relationship propelled by the unconscious wish for sex.

The little boy may show the most undisguised sexual curiosity about his mother, he may insist upon sleeping beside her at night, he may force his presence on her while she is dressing or may even make actual attempts at seducing her, as his mother will often notice and report with amusement - all of which puts beyond doubt the erotic nature of his tie with his mother. Things happen in just the same way with little girls, with the necessary changes: an affectionate attachment to her father, a need to get rid of her mother as superfluous and to take her place. . . (1916-17, p. 376).

The evidence which refutes the assertion of primary contact being motivated by sex has already been noted, but beyond this is the assertion that the Oedipus complex is about love rather than sex. A child's wish to have exclusive possession of the mother may be understood as the desire to maintain the emotional security and comfort that was initially required and felt within this primary relationship. It is from the successful physical and emotional outcomes of any healthy relationship that the basis for love is established; thus, while a child will in all likelihood continue to show a preference for the mother as the object for primary care and may, at times, perceive the father as an unwelcome figure with whom it must share the attentions of the mother, the father also has the responsibility of ministering to the child's physical and emotional needs and, as such, provided these needs are appropriately and adequately met, will also be accepted as an object that is needed, valued, and loved. Assertions that patricide and incest ' . . . is the path of normal development and that neurotics merely exhibit to us in a magnified and coarsened form

what the analysis of dreams reveals to us in healthy people as well' (1916-17, p. 382) is, from perspective of attachment theory, questionable. I consider it plausible to conclude that any murderous thoughts or erotic desires toward either parent, are more indicative of a disturbance within the primary relationship between the mother and child, or secondary relationship between the father and child, as well as between the parents themselves. In short, I reject the classical perspective that it is normal, natural, or healthy for a child to wish its father dead or to possess its mother sexually. Likewise, there is no evidence to support that heredity or some preordained phase of development has anything to do with a girl's perception of her mother (or boy's perception of the father) as superfluous and a wish to take her place in relation to the father. I understand these to be symptoms of individual pathology; symptoms that reveal more about the disturbing nature of what transpires between the members of a family to produce such thoughts and feelings, as opposed to what they are presumed to reveal about healthy individuals as well. In this sense Freud's interpretation of the Oedipus complex is accepted as either an accurate universal truth regarding disturbed relationships between members of the same family, or his own interpretive bias of presenting symptoms within a particular cultural context.

Freud recognized that the relationships within a family will entail a mixture of emotional responses. The combination of the mother, father, and child will inevitably evoke a breadth of emotions that will not always be in harmony. Love, jealousy, anger, hate, security, resentment, fear, guilt, rage, can all be expected to be experienced at various times in the course of a child's development. It is interesting to note that while he was aware of the potential role of parents

in contributing to the outcome of the child's Oedipus complex, his emphasis was consistently upon the child as being the instigator of its result.

We must not omit to add that the parents themselves often exercise a determining influence on the awakening of a child's Oedipus attitude by themselves obeying the pull of sexual attraction, and that where there are several children the father will give the plainest evidence of his greater affection for his little daughter and the mother for her son. But the spontaneous nature of the Oedipus complex in children cannot be seriously shaken even by this factor (1916-17, p. 376-77).

The Myth of Oedipus and the Abused Child

Rather than use the myth of Oedipus as evidence that the child may be assigned the responsibility for pathology and assume that this was the normal path to mental health, another possibility is offered. It is proposed that the relative balance between the conflicting emotions of love and hate, security and loss, freedom and control, trust and fear, admiration and resentment, respect and indifference, among others, are managed by all persons via the ministrations of the parents. The repeated kinds of experiences to which a child is exposed at the hands of their parents will formulate the emotional patterns which will then constitute the basis for their interactions with other persons. Freud relied upon the Oedipus complex as reflecting an abridged version of a psychic milestone in the lives of all people. But when we examine the myth of Oedipus we uncover some critical omissions that reveal additionally important information. Although we know that Oedipus put out his eyes upon the discovery that he had committed the forbidden crimes of patricide and marrying his mother, there are other facts about the myth that are generally overlooked. First, it was both Laius and Jocasta who together planned to have

Oedipus killed as an infant. They began by physically torturing him, using a single spike to pierce his heels in order to 'render him incapable of walking'. They gave Oedipus to a shepherd who was expected to abandon their son amidst the wilderness, with the intent that he should die. Second, when Oedipus was an adult and met Laius for the first time on the road, it was Laius who refused to give way, and further initiated the ensuing altercation by striking the first blow. Third, since Oedipus had been abandoned as an infant he had never met his father as an adult and therefore had no way of knowing the identity of the man with whom he was quarrelling. Fourth, Oedipus had been rescued from certain death by his adoptive parents who had raised him with love and compassion. He had been prompted to leave his home in the seaport of Corinth in an attempt to protect both of his parents from the Delphic oracle which proclaimed that he would kill his father and marry his mother. Finally, rather than any desire to marry his mother who he had likewise never met, it was Oedipus' mental acumen which enabled him to solve the riddle of the sphinx, thereby making him the king of Thebes and the husband of the Queen (Jocasta). What these points suggest is that contrary to Freud's assertion that feelings of patricide or desire for sexual possession on the part of a child for a parent being a spontaneous outcome of the Oedipus complex, such thoughts or feelings arise from the result of the manner in which a parent has either knowingly or unknowingly orchestrated them. Oedipus was perceived as a threat to his father from the day of his birth. He was maimed by both his parents, abandoned, and left to die. He was provoked into a physical conflict with his father when Oedipus had the right of way. His motive for leaving his home was the protection of his adoptive parents who had raised him with love. And his crime of marrying his mother was

instigated by his intellectual ability to solve a riddle which immediately rendered him King.

I would argue that a boy who identifies with his father on the basis of fear, that is, solidifying his masculine identity as a result of an object to which he is anxious and fearful, can be expected to display various forms of hostility and aggressive behaviour - behaviour analogous to that of Oedipus. Such emotions and behaviour are interpreted as occurring for comprehensible reasons rather than part of a preordained phase of development. The nature of the relationship that a boy assumes with other men, as well as how he interacts with women, are proposed to be the result of the patterns that were established between himself and each of his parents, and between his own parents with which he was an integral part, during his formative years. It is certainly possible for a boy to grow up and experience the wish to kill his father and show additional disturbances with respect to sexual behaviour, but, within this context, not without the active (conscious and unconscious) participation of both parents. Provided a boy's initial need for physical contact, and subsequent emotionally complex requirements, are responded to with consistent empathic care, he will select the father as the object with whom to identify on the basis of love rather than fear. He will not pursue an object of the opposite sex outside of the family from the fear of castration, but because of the acceptance of the relationship between his parents, about which he would like to share aspects that are known to be restricted only to them, but which he is able to accept because of his ability to form his own unique relationship with each of them and share in enough of their relationship as a couple to appease any undeveloped feelings of disappointment. If we interpret that many of the clinical remarks about which Freud was

reporting were accurate depictions of what his patients had experienced, the conclusions that he was offering by way of explanation serve to direct our attention to what had otherwise been overlooked. While parents certainly welcome explanations that absolves them from personal responsibility for the disturbances of their children, and instead places the onus on either the child themselves or some form of *natural* account, Freud had discovered that this was not the case but failed to adequately emphasize it.

Rather than the above noted facts invalidating Freud's interpretation of the legend of Oedipus, they do serve to address the central role that parents have in contributing to the pathological behaviour or thinking of their children. Nevertheless, there are certain universal emotions that Freud felt were depicted within this tale. The sense of guilt and need to atone for various forbidden thoughts, feelings, and actions; the experiencing of destructive rage which can take the form patricide and other forms of violence, juxtaposed with the love and gratitude of that same figure; and the self injurious behaviour by those who have committed or contemplated committing socially prohibited acts, continue to appear with regularity within the clinical setting, and have become the focus and expansion of much of the subsequent work by Klein and many of her followers.

'Psychical Consequences of the Anatomical Distinction Between the Sexes' (Freud 1925): The Implications of Fairbairn's Theory

'The difference between the sexual development of males and females at the stage we have been considering (Oedipus Complex) is an intelligible consequence of the anatomical distinction between their genitals and of the psychical situation involved in it; it corresponds to the difference between a castration that has been carried out and one that has been merely threatened' (Freud, 1925, p. 341). There are a number statements like this one which Freud made concerning the boy's transition to masculinity and the girl's to femininity which may be questioned.

First, for virtually every proposed psychic difference between the sexes there are an approximate number of demonstrable cases where this is not the case. The notion of a classification being constructed which makes deterministic statements regarding the sexes overlooks the extent to which individual variations occur, as Freud noted himself, within each gender, as well as between the sexes. Psychological differences between the sexes, I would argue, cannot be reasonably understood outside of either the individual's unique familial object relational experiences, or the particular culture in which this gendered psychic blueprint is enacted through socially defined opportunities and influences.

Second, intrapsychic development regarding ones gender has less to do with genitalia *per se*

when compared with the attitude and manner of the primary care figure(s) toward the individual, of which sexual anatomy plays an important part. To state that individual difficulties associated with one's gender may be traced to the morphological distinction between the sexes (Freud 1924, p. 320) rather than what is brought to these differences from others, and their subsequent value within the larger social order, is akin to the notion that personality traits being explained in terms of a person's skeletal and muscular physique, which have been shown to be incorrect (Sheldon 1954).

Third, although there were times in Freud's career when he challenged the ability to clearly demarcate masculinity and femininity, he made the division primarily in terms *activity* and *passivity* which he equated with phallic organization (1905, pp. 141-42). A boy is not, however, able to retain his *masculine character* in connection with his mother because this is a relationship based on the need for love rather than sex. Likewise, a girl is not required to 'renounce her masculine character (in association with her mother) before the clitoris may give place to the vagina and masculinity to femininity' (1925, p. 328), because this relationship precedes and supercedes the social delineation of masculine and feminine such that 'all human individuals combine in themselves both masculine and feminine characteristics, so that pure masculinity and femininity remain theoretical constructions of uncertain content' (p. 342). It is my contention that just as both sexes have the same nutritional requirements during development, their shared emotional needs cannot be distinguished from one another and, provided they are successfully met, and subsequently nurtured through available opportunities outside of the family, will serve

as emotional sustenance throughout the life cycle.

Thus a girl may refuse to accept the fact of being castrated, may harden herself in the conviction that she does possess a penis, and may subsequently be compelled to behave as though she were a man. After a woman has become aware of the wound to her narcissism, she develops, like a scar, a sense of inferiority. When she passed beyond her first attempt at explaining her lack of a penis as being a punishment personal to herself and has realized that that sexual character is a universal one, she begins to share the contempt felt by men for a sex which is the lesser in so important a respect. . . (1925, p. 337).

Oedipal Pathology, Relational History, and Victorian Culture

Continuing along the psychological paradigm offered by Fairbairn, attachment research supports that disturbances that do involve such things as sex, aggression, or depression are seen to arise from the dynamics of the family triad in the form of repeated, occasional, or permanent separation (Suomi 1970; Hinde 1971; Harlow 1973; Passman 1975), maternal and peer relationship deprivation (Harlow 1958, 1969, 1972, 1974), disturbed maternal care (Robins 1966; Ainsworth 1971), and rejection of the infant by the mother (Bowlby 1969; Marvin 1977). The mother as an object of love is not something which the girl is 'required to turn away from' in order that she may establish a positive relationship with a man, because it is not a relationship based on sex. She does not begin in a homosexual relationship with the mother, even in a psychological sense, any more than the boy begins with a heterosexual with his mother

The argument here, then, is that a woman does not have the wish to be a man unless the relationships within her family have been severely disturbed, or the conditions outside of the

family are so oppressive as to deny any reasonable opportunity through which a woman may achieve fulfilment. A mother represents a model for her daughter for what it means to be a woman. She will only unconsciously fantasize about becoming a man or having been anatomically wounded in some respect, if the particular dynamics between herself and her mother, followed by oppressive, restrictive, and discriminatory attitudes, provide the makings for such desires. Similarly, the assertion that women feel contempt for their own sex, experience a greater sense of shame and disgust, and are sexually more inhibited than men (Freud 1925, pp. 331-43) is not accepted as a natural consequence of sexual anatomy. Such feelings are interpreted as symptoms of disturbances with respect to the female gender that are primarily the result of familial relational dynamics which are subsequently taken into a specifically punitive cultural environment, that further procure such distortions. Such symptomatic disturbances are not viewed as either spontaneously arising in isolation of relations with emotionally pivotal figures, or as an independent outcome of those elements within contemporary North American society where sexism continues to exist. Although psychic development will include anatomy and sexuality, within this paradigm it is felt that the unconscious feelings of the parents with respect to their own gender, the attitudes and behaviour they exhibit toward each other, together with how they minister the child's development, will occupy the foundation for how each boy and girl will evolve into their respective status of man and woman, and be perpetuated through the unconscious selection of culturally established gendered influences.

Relational History and The Shared Need For Love

Rather than the girl's Oedipus complex being the reverse of the boys, it is asserted that since both sexes possess exactly the same psychological requirements during the course of their development, what they hold in common will be greater than any apparent differences. Provided the relationship between the girl and her mother entails a psychic history of successfully met emotional needs, the girl would not be motivated to direct the love she feels for her mother to a different object. An alternative understanding of the father as a love-object to which the girl directs her attention, is the suggestion that the love she feels for her father is *in addition* to that which she continues to hold for her mother, rather than as a rejection of one for the other. Further, to assume that the overriding factor that motivates the girl to reject her mother, is because of how positive the union was to begin with, which is therefore destined to fail (Freud 1931, p. 382), is to state things in the reverse. Evidence of aggression or hostility directed toward a care-giving figure indicates that it is the result of a poor relationship, not a good one (Fairbairn 1952; Harlow 1986; Guntrip 1969; Bowlby 1969; Spitz 1945, 1946; Ainsworth 1978). In Part 2 I will be addressing the finding that the more poorly the developmental needs of the individual are met, the more psychologically incapable they are to distance themselves from the figure to whom they look to receive those needs (Leo 1981; Armstrong-Perlman 1991). If the women with whom Freud was dealing expressed intense hostility toward their mothers, I would add that this was not because of how idyllic their relationships were from the beginning, nor because the girl was presumed to hold unreasonable expectations that the mother was unable to

fulfil. The basic premise of Fairbairn's theory is that the perpetual or apparently excessive demands that one person makes of another arise from the former's fundamental needs not being adequately met. Here, an analogy may be made of prisoners of war who were released from years of starvation in concentration camps who were found to have obsessed about food throughout their confinement, and for years following their liberation (Bettelheim 1979).

To claim that the girl had to surrender the pleasure she initially received from the stimulation of her clitoris in favour of the vagina was, for Freud, an attitude of *anatomy being destiny*. The idea here was essentially that the clitoris was associated with the same *active* masculine attitude as the penis is for the boy, but had to be discarded if the *true passive* feminine position was to be reached. It would seem that Freud was unaware of the potential for the girl to achieve satisfaction from both her clitoris and vagina without either having to take precedence. If we examine some of Freud's own thoughts surrounding this issue, we may uncover some of reasons why he reached such a conclusion. In his discussion about infantile sexual traumas he noted that virtually all of his female patients reported that they had been seduced by their father. He later concluded that rather than the hysterical symptoms of these patients being the result of actual occurrences of abuse by the father, they were the product of the phantasy of seduction by him, which was the expression of the usual Oedipus complex in women. Freud later revised this belief by asserting that it was in fact the mother who was the original seducer of the girl; that by her maternal actions there would result in the inevitable arousal and pleasurable sensations of the girl's genitals (1933, p. 154). Children are not in the habit of imagining that their parents interact

with them in a sexually inappropriate manner. Some would argue (Schatzman 1973; Pizzey 1977; Shengold 1989) that such proposed *phantasies* may be more accurately understood as reflective of the psychic trauma to which the child was exposed at the hands of both parents - both parents because neither can be exempt for the respective part they played in either committing the act or claiming ignorance of its existence. Likewise, any actual phantasies that involve wrongdoing between an adult and a child will not have arisen from a relationship in which the child feels safe, secure, and correctly treated. From the distinctly relational psychoanalytic perspective of the *Middle Group*, a girl's phantasy of being seduced by either her father or mother is not part of a normal developmental process. Within this context it may be surmised that Freud erred by replacing reports of actual occurrences of children being seduced and generally mistreated by a parent(s), with the mere phantasy's of such acts.

It is useful to ask where Freud came up with what may be accepted as generally absurd propositions concerning women. Remarks that included the clitoris being regarded as an *atrophied penis*; that the girl wants to be a man; that she blames her mother for not providing her with a penis; that she acknowledges the *fact* that she has been castrated; that she condemns her mother as an object unworthy of love because of her missing penis and consequent *penis envy*; that her need to be loved is stronger than her need to love; that her physical vanity and narcissism is considerably greater than that of boys; and that she is intellectually weak, has a poor sense of justice, and displays a general sense of shame (1933, pp. 145-69). The question may be raised as to the motive behind the making of such erroneous claims that were bound to

invite contempt.

Freud's Views and the Influence of Victorian Culture

Freud was living in a Victorian era where the attitudes surrounding not only sex but females themselves, and in particular the sexual activity of women, were rigid, phallogentric, oppressive, sexist, and patriarchal (Horney 1967; Mitchell 1984). He was not immune to the influences that surrounded him, either those within his own family or the Viennese culture, in general. However, what he presented in the form of *psychological facts* about normal development, may have been more accurately understood as gender affiliated disturbances about which many of his female patients had been commenting. We may try to imagine what it would be like for a girl to grow up in a household in which the father was held to be supreme and the mother openly acknowledged as holding a subservient role, if acknowledged at all. It would not be surprising to learn that a girl, for whom the awareness of the gross inequities between the sexes within her own family, disparities that were condoned by her parents, in addition to the support that the debasement of women received within the prevailing social structure, might well resent her maligned gender status. Even if we were to assume that some women could gain enough satisfaction within the confines that their gender was perceived to entail, we can imagine that there would be others who would not. We might be outraged and incensed about this attitude toward women, but if this was the prevailing thought at the time of Freud's life - an attitude that occupied the thoughts and practises of the parents of daughters; a belief structure which

segregated the sexes in terms of opportunity and expectations; an acceptance of women that was infused with prejudice and discrimination; and a gender existence where one sex was favoured and the other regarded as second-class - then it is conceivable that a young girl could likewise become aware of the intensity of the discomfort that her mother might feel about being a woman and the implications that this shared anatomical distinction would have on her own life. Similarly, Freud was not beyond the phallogocentric thinking and presumed supremacy of the male gender that dominated his world. It would have been virtually unimaginable, for example, for him to accept the idea that some men might envy certain perceived advantages to being a woman. I concur with Grunbaum (1998) that many of the comments that were made by Freud about women reflect the unconscious conflict that existed (and exists) between cultural factors and individual development.

Girls cannot accept 'the fact that they have been castrated' when this is not a fact. They can, however, formulate the unconscious idea that their genitalia have been damaged, are inferior, are a wound, or are shameful, provided the seeds of such disturbed thoughts are planted and cultivated within the relationship dynamics of the family. A girl whose budding sexuality is responded to with acrimony on the part of her mother, whose gender evoked a sense of disappointment and hostility in her mother, whose mother's feelings concerning her own anatomy were a source of personal derision, and whose father shared and supported such attitudes by his own lack of respect for his wife, in addition to the demeaning views surrounding women that were maintained within the prevailing social order, would provide a fertile emotional

environment for a girl to formulate such distorted ideas regarding herself as a woman. It is suggested that Freud was, in effect, colluding with the disturbed images that his female patients held about themselves. Within the object relational model that has been outlined throughout, such phantasies were not the result of *biological destiny* (Freud, 1933, p. 152), but the relative value that the respective members of the family held about themselves and the other members, in conjunction with the social and cultural structure of their time. Freud's assertion of the strength of women's need to be loved (narcissism) versus their ability to love, is accordingly understood as an expression of the inadequacy with which the basic need to be loved was met, a need that is shared by all persons, from which a sense of emotional hunger or repletion will be experienced. We cannot deprive an individual of proper nutrition and exercise and then conclude that they are innately physically weak. If a girl debases her mother, herself, or expresses the desire to be a man, such thoughts and feelings would, from a distinctly relational psychoanalytic point of view, be understood as infantile expressions of both an acceptance of the tenets of disturbed relationships, as well as the wish to escape from them; relationships that held little or no hope as a result of being female within a strongly patriarchal society. In this sense, Freud may be said to have unknowingly victimized his female patients.

I cannot help mentioning an impression that we are constantly receiving during analytic practise. A man of about thirty strikes us as a youthful, somewhat uninformed individual, whom we expect to make powerful use of the possibilities for development opened up to him by analysis. A woman of the same age, however, often frightens us by her psychic rigidity and unchangeability. There are no paths open to further development; it is as though the whole process had already run its course and remains thenceforward insusceptible to influence - as though, indeed, the difficult development to femininity had exhausted the possibilities of the person concerned. As therapists we lament this state of things, even if we succeed in putting an end to our patient's ailment by doing away with her neurotic conflict (Freud 1933, p. 169).

Childhood Sexuality and the Concept of Adultomorphism

Freud may be credited with his bold and at the time controversial claim that children have a sexual life, meaning that they can and do experience feelings and ideas in association with pleasurable bodily sensations. Irregularities with respect to sexual practises that are identified to be the result of the 'multifariously perverse dispositions of childhood which therefore necessitates the need for sublimation' (Freud 1916-17, p. 164) is to present a picture of the child as a deviant that needs reforming. The child is a child, a being that derives bodily pleasure from several areas that become overly stimulated if they are addressed improperly. By stating that there was anything innately deviant or abnormal in the child with respect to sensual pleasure, Freud was engaging in adultomorphic reasoning. A child does not want a sexual relationship with a parent. The child does not want to be sexually stimulated by an adult. The child wants to know that it is accepted and loved by another figure on whom it is completely dependent. If, in the context of this relationship, the child senses the desire from the parent to engage in a sexualized relationship, it is understandable that the child will respond to this wish with fear, confusion, but also compliance, not because of any erotic desires or zones, but because they want to obtain or retain the love of that person (Shengold 1989). To refuse to submit to the sexual advances of an adult is to place the child in an emotionally tenuous position as this figure is central to their emotional and physical survival. The child's acquiescence, then, is the result of the desire and need to be loved, in this case, by an adult who we may surmise have themselves been the product of a disturbed parent-child relationship (Pizzey 1977; Schatzman 1973; Rush

1980). Parents who are sexually frustrated in their own relationship or who were abused as children may turn to their children for fulfilment, thereby reenacting the abuse they experienced as children (Herman 1982; Celani 1994). Instead of being aware of these as pathological facts, Freud suggested that these actions, albeit in unconscious phantasy, were somehow part of the natural order of development. For him, the preponderance of evidence for sexual behaviour lay with innate sexual constitutions, heredity, and phylogenetic determinacy (1905, pp. 160-69). Even when he was aware ' . . . that many people are subjected to the same sexual influences as sexual deviants (e.g., to seduction or mutual masturbation, which may occur in early youth)' (p. 51), he was quick to dismiss the significance of such occurrences on the basis that they resulted in neither temporary nor permanent disturbances of a similar nature.

Psychoanalysis and the Issue of Credibility

Although comments concerning the unconscious are certainly not restricted to the topic of gender, I conclude this segment with a response to some of the criticisms that psychoanalytic thought has received since its inception; notably the acceptance of the existence of the unconscious and the ability to understand it, as this marks the cornerstone on which psychoanalytic thought is based, remarks that encompass all aspects of development and functioning, including those about gender. I address some of the following criticisms here, because they represent the basis for much of the rejection and misunderstanding of this complex discipline. Provided a brief account is offered which serves to add clarity to some of these

claims, a more informed decision can be made about the frequent perception of its incredibility, and the acceptance of its use as a therapeutic modality which I introduced in Part 1, increase in Part 2, and elaborate in Part 3.

Copernicus was among the first to insult humans' belief that the earth was the centre of the universe and as such that the sun revolved around it. His claim that the reverse was in fact true met with rejection, hostility, and general antagonism (Armitage 1947). Darwin's theory of evolution by natural selection challenged the accepted wisdom of the day that theology had provided for the origin of the human species. To accept Darwin's account was seen by many to engage in heresy as it appeared to contest the omnipotence of God. Here too the general response to Darwin's hypothesis among not only theologians but the scientific community as well, was intense resistance or at best, a gradual willingness to entertain the proposal as an interesting idea (Hull 1973). The next position to significantly impact our narcissistic beliefs was Freud's assertion that we were not the master of our own psychic domain (1916-17, p. 46) - meaning that while we would like to think that our behaviour and thoughts are executed entirely on the basis of rational thought and conscious decisions, what we are consciously aware of is but a fraction of the motivating forces behind our decisions, actions, feelings, and thoughts. Each of these propositions was met with overwhelming opposition, not because of any malicious intent on the part of the respective pioneer, but because it challenged the way in which we had thought of ourselves. If such challenges are perceived to increase our sense of insecurity, vulnerability, dependence, or helplessness, that is, to disturb the foundation of our current

thinking and functioning, then it is not surprising that they would be rejected by most or reluctantly accepted by a few. We can understand that Copernicus' claim would upset humans' desire to believe that *their world* was the centre of the universe and that the planets orbited around them, but he was interested in formulating a hypothesis that he felt was a closer approximation to what he believed was correct. Likewise, it was not Darwin's intent to dethrone the position of the church, only to devise a theory which he felt offered a more plausible explanation for the beginning of human life. Likewise, Freud did not propose the existence of the unconscious to frighten or injure humans' sense of control over themselves, but because he believed that he had discovered an account which he felt provided a better explanation for our behaviour than the wisdom of his day. Each of these men offered a theory, a hypothesis, a series of ideas that they felt revealed a truth about the universe, human origin, and the individual psyche. They were not interested in whether these conjectures disturbed conventional thought, but in espousing what they felt was a more correct version of the truth.

Proof of the Unconscious

What *evidence*, then, did Freud offer to substantiate the existence of the unconscious. Initially there were two experiences that he felt provided proof that something was operating beyond the level of consciousness. The explanation by Freud's colleague, Breuer, of the forgotten trauma of his patient, provided Freud with the idea that there were active parts of the mind that were not immediately open to inspection by either an outside observer or the subject themselves.

Second, Freud observed that when an individual was given the post-hypnotic suggestion to open an umbrella on cue, that despite the inappropriate setting in which such an act was executed, the individual attempted to offer a rational explanation for why he had committed such an act, and had absolutely no memory of the suggestion ever having been made (1933, p. 18). Freud went on to add that seemingly innocuous acts from everyday life such as: slips of the tongue, jokes, accidents, the misplacement of objects, written mistakes, or forgetting, had a psychological purpose or intent, and were substitutes for information that was present in the individual but not directly accessible - meaning unconscious (1916-17, p. 143). It is interesting to note that when people are confronted by graphic evidence of the unconscious, often of an embarrassing nature in the form of what they generally call a *Freudian slip*, they unknowingly give credence to its existence and yet beyond this cursory acceptance, deny what cannot be seen. Experiences that entailed intense fear, embarrassment, frustration, anger, humiliation, anxiety, ambivalence, conflict, and the like, were suggested by Freud to have occurred in early childhood; however, rather than such occurrences being readily accessible to memory, he reasoned that they were banished from consciousness because of their painful nature. In essence, experiences that, because of their traumatic nature, the child felt compelled to suppress and forget rather than remember. These were thoughts that may have been in conflict with the values and practises of the parents on whom the child was completely dependent and accepting, and for whom any criticism, even if it could be articulated, given the limited cognitive abilities of the child, would not have been tolerated. Freud proposed that such feelings and ideas were expelled from consciousness and yet continued to have a direct bearing on subsequent functioning.

Conscious versus Unconscious Learning

We are repeatedly exposed to the fact that children firmly acquire the specifics and nuances of their mother tongue prior to any formal instruction, in addition to absorbing the distinctive elements of their culture before entering the education system. Both language and culture contain tacitly agreed upon understandings of what is unknowingly accepted to be correct and proper, and yet we fail to grasp the permanence with which emotional structure is similarly entrenched at an early age and transcends the level of consciousness. This is how we are able to discern intuitively that the sentence: 'Culture and two influential are language in our factors lives' should be expressed 'Culture and language are two influential factors in our lives' if it is to conform to proper syntax, even if we are unable to cite the linguistic rules which govern it. Likewise, some persons may find the idea of eating raw fish (Sushi) repugnant while the fetus of a bird (Egg) may be consumed regularly without question. Such specifically cultural examples are used to further illustrate the means through which a structured pattern of emotional relatedness emanates from every individual. We might say that Freud extended such recognitions and pointed out the degree to which we act upon our unconscious *language*, our internalized familial *culture*, in every unthinking, spontaneous move we make with others.

Psychoanalysis - Then and Now

Some might respond to the above that while the theories of Copernicus and Darwin qualify as

science, the proposals of Freud do not. Such persons argue that the unconscious is something which cannot be observed, measured, quantified, tested, and therefore proven. This invites the question, what is science? If science is 'the knowledge of facts and information that is derived from observation and ordered thinking; an ordered presentation of facts, reasoning, doctrines, and beliefs that concern a particular subject or group of subjects; and any branch of knowledge that is arranged in an orderly system' (Funk and Wagnalls, 1966), then in what way does psychoanalytic thought not constitute science? To say that Freud did not apply the scientific methodology of 'recognizing and describing a particular problem', that he did not 'collect data related to this problem through observation and experimentation', that he did not 'interpret the data and formulate a hypothesis to describe the event, law, and relationship', and that he did not 'test this hypothesis by more observation' (ibid.) would be incorrect. Freud did all of these things, but more importantly, he felt that it was his task to continue the quest of exploring the vast new territory on which he had embarked, and to pass the responsibility of sorting out the details of his exploits to his followers. He was discovering things that were completely foreign to his peers. He relied upon his own observations, together with information from ethology, anthropology, chemistry, biology, physics, sociology, philosophy, and genetics. He was one man. He did not have a team of researchers with whom he could exchange and refine conceptual information. The work of Klein (1932, 1952, 1975), Balint (1939), Fairbairn (1941, 1944, 1946, 1952), Winnicott (1958, 1965, 1986), and Guntrip (1969), represent but a few of the mainstream psychoanalysts who recognized Freud as the father of a discipline that required revisions and amendments. Accordingly, the psychoanalysis of today retains little resemblance to that

originally outlined. Freud's bold statement of the central role of the unconscious and the notion of the determining influence that this has over individual behaviour, continues to be accepted by all analysts, but it is the extensive research that has been conducted on infant attachment, separation, primary relationships, facilitating environments for psychological maturation, the effects of early loss, and process of psychoanalytic psychotherapy, that has resulted in substantial changes. It is noteworthy that such innovative research frequently derives from outside of the analytic community, but which nevertheless strongly support many of the claims purported by such persons as Bowlby, Balint, Winnicott, and Guntrip, and in particular, Fairbairn, but Freud as well, and will appear repeatedly throughout Part 3. Further, the conclusions of these studies are based not only on observations, but extensive testing, measurement, replication, in short, the necessary conditions of scientific inquiry, and extend beyond the position of psychoanalysis as a hermeneutic science (Strenger 1991; Terwee 1990; Loewenberg 2000). In his 1993 book *Psychoanalysis As a Science*, Leopold Bellak connects what have frequently been regarded as the mutually exclusive fields of experimental psychology, psychiatry, and psychoanalysis. He demonstrates how the rigorous research methodology of both psychology and psychiatry can be integrated into many of the concepts that originated with basic Freudian thought, as well as his followers, thereby advancing the use of psychoanalysis as a science. Similarly, Wallerstein, Perry, Shevrin and Bond, Luborsky et al., Butler et al., Miller, and McCullough (1993), take contributions from the psychoanalytic literature and address such concepts as: psychoanalytic research as an accepted science; repression and the unconscious; the effects of the mechanisms of defence; psychodynamic treatment, personality disorders and empirical issues; outcome

measures of psychodynamic oriented therapies, and transference and counter transference, to name some, combine them with quantitative research from the clinical setting, and provide empirical validation.

We would certainly be in error to accept many of the interpretations and conclusions reached by Freud as accurate, just as what was accepted at the time of Galen to be the pinnacle of intellectual thought in the field of medicine, aeronautical engineering according to the Wright brothers, or automotive production established by Ford, would today be considered comical and primitive.

Clinical Application

While Freud argued in favour of psychological differences between the sexes primarily in terms of anatomy, the research evidence since his time does not support such a claim. We may further acknowledge that society certainly encourages and condones gender specific behaviour, however the argument here is that many of these differences present essentially a social veneer that masks the internalized psychic structure of the individual that is based on primary object relationships. We know that social factors play an important role in the decisions that are made by men and women in terms of educational and professional pursuits, but that does not make the specific choice of subject to be studied or career to be pursued, male or female. Similarly, we know that certain identifiable disturbances are frequently gender linked. To conclude, however, that the

disorder itself is the result of being male or female is to reify the specific symptoms of a disturbance as being inherently the result of gender differences. For example, the developmental disorders of eating, and anxieties (phobias and obsessive-compulsive behaviour) and the mood disorder of depression, are identified as primarily associated with women, while the developmental disorders of separation anxiety, the overanxious, attention deficit with hyperactivity, behavioural conduct, and the psychoactive substance use disorders of alcohol abuse or dependence, are said to occur with greater prevalence amongst males (American Psychiatric Association, DSM-III-R 1987; Carson and Butcher 1994) we cannot automatically conclude that one sex is innately predisposed to these disturbances on the basis of their gender. I think that if we conclude solely on the basis of anatomical structure, as Freud himself suggested, or as a result of social and cultural factors, that women are to be understood as a radically different entity from men, that this is similar to falling victim to what has been termed an 'oversocialized view of man' (Wrong 1976) and thereby fail to comprehend the common ground on which both sexes begin their emotional development. Nevertheless, the strength of the social structure within contemporary western culture must be recognized for providing conditions and avenues through which various behaviour, including pathological, may be nurtured outside of the family, where, in keeping with the theme of this paper, such seeds were first planted.

Therapeutic Manuals

Despite the volumes of written material that Freud generated during his lifetime he advocated that psychoanalytic psychotherapy could not be achieved through a book. The notion of mental health self-help manuals that correspond to specific disorders may provide comfort with the assurance that assistance is readily available and progress facilitated through a prescribed outline, but on the basis of Freud's uncovering of the complexity of the individual psyche such ready-made solutions do not acknowledge the intricacies of the specific histories and emotions that represent the human experience and therefore may be viewed as emotionally naive and intellectually crude. Such attempts also serve to collude with the patient's own preoccupation with the specific behaviour in question. Just as it would be absurd to offer speech therapy to the individual who repeatedly commits *slips of the tongue*, so too would it be misguided to overlook the hidden meaning behind a symptom which Freud helped us understand was not the primary problem, but an indicator which conceals the reasons why a patient feels compelled to think, feel, or act in a particular way.

The Therapist and the Requirement of Personal Analysis

In connection with psychoanalysis as a therapeutic modality, Freud advanced the radical idea that an essential requirement for any practitioner was their own analysis. In essence he was arguing that in order for a therapist to be of maximum assistance to their patient they must first gain a

firm understanding of their own psychological functioning and in so doing become sensitive to the nuances of human relationships and emotions which psychoanalysis affords. Such an assertion was also greeted with disdain as its admission constituted a severe threat to the practitioner who, up until the time of Freud, was assumed to have nothing in common with their patients and were encouraged to view themselves as the personification of mental health. Although Freud did not reject learning about psychoanalysis from printed matter, collegial discussions, or detailed supervision, the analytic process was something which he felt could only be gained from one's own analysis in which the central gains of self-insight and individual growth were the prerequisites of benefiting another, hence, his statement that 'One learns psychoanalysis on oneself, by studying one's own personality . . . One advances much further if one is analyzed oneself by a practised analyst and experiences the effects of analysis on one's own self. . . ' (1916-17, pp. 43-44).

'From Human Misery to Everyday Unhappiness' (Freud 1901)

Psychoanalysis was also understood as an education in psychic reality whose results offered the conversion of human misery into common everyday unhappiness (p. 308). Freud did not view the human condition as amenable to an emotional panacea, as he knew that all humans faced certain existential realities which included such things as sickness, disease, and loss. Even though such difficulties need not cripple our ability to live full and productive lives, he realized that pain and suffering would remain an inevitable part of life under the best of conditions

(1930). Beyond the certainty of the pain that life entails was his conviction in the potential of all persons to change the emotional suffering that results from the disappointments, frustrations, conflicts, anxieties, and trauma that comprised the formative years when we are most dependent, into a sense of affective order and general resolution during independence as an adult in the present and future. Understandably these were not the ingredients for a therapy that others would rush to embrace and yet despite what some would argue was a rather pessimistic attitude toward man, Freud made the seemingly contrary claim that 'Psychoanalysis is in essence a cure through love' (Freud and Jung 1900-1914, cited in Bettelheim 1983, introduction). By understanding the manner in which a child is loved by its parents; that is, the way in which its various needs, impulses, discoveries, wishes, ideas, and feelings are addressed within the context of the family, we can facilitate the emotional growth and health of the patient. What we may learn from classical psychoanalytic thought was that it is the therapist's job, regardless of whether they were dealing with a patient who is male or female, to offer the right attitude and conditions within which the patient can form a therapeutic alliance. The patients' ability to change necessitates the need to return to their past and work through troubling elements of their relationship with the central figure(s) during their development, and subsequent relational impairments. Such a process enables patients the opportunity gradually to purge themselves of their emotional suffering, but now with the support of a therapist, unlike the time of its original occurrence. While it is possible to anticipate ways in which the therapist can facilitate such an achievement in the form of therapeutic neutrality, emotional connectedness, self-insight, reliability, among others, how can information and experiences that are infused with emotional

pain and suffering be expected to be reconciled quickly?

Nothing takes place in a psychoanalytic treatment but an interchange of words between the patient and the analyst. The patient talks, tells of his past experiences and present impressions, complains, confesses to his wishes and his emotional impulses. The uninstructed relatives of our patients, who are only impressed by visible and tangible things - preferably by actions of the sort that are to be witnessed at the cinema - never fail to express their doubts whether 'anything can be done about the illness by mere talking'. By words one person can make another blissfully happy or drive him to despair, by words the teacher conveys his knowledge to his pupils, by words the orator carries his audience with him and determines their judgements and decisions. Words provoke affects and are in general the means of mutual influence among men (Freud 1916-17, p. 41).

Psychoanalysis, Resistance, and Trust

In order for patients to begin the arduous requirement of returning to the troubling components of their past, about which they have constructed elaborate strategies to both consciously and unconsciously defend, or have the most basic of insight, the essential element of trust must be established through a therapeutic alliance. Emotional trust is not something that can be accelerated, particularly amongst a population whose experience with positive relations have been tainted. 'The length of the road over which an analysis must travel with the patient, and the quantity of material which an analysis must be mastered on the way, are of no importance in comparison with the resistance which is met within the course of the work, and are only of importance at all in so far as they are necessarily proportional to the resistance' (Freud 1918, p. 238).

It was the unique relationship that evolved between the analyst and his or her patient that Freud viewed as a crucial element in the therapeutic process. We might make the analogy that just as a child cannot be expected to grow and mature without the support, aid, and understanding of the unique figures, the mother and father, the adult who experiences psychological distress requires not a parent, but an individual who possesses the necessary skills and self-awareness to advance a patient's personal goals through which this figure will become a very significant other.

'The information required by analysis will be given by him only on condition of his having a special emotional attachment to the doctor; he would become silent as soon as he observed a single witness to whom he felt indifferent. For this information concerns what is most intimate in his mental life, everything that, as a socially independent person, he must conceal from other people, and, beyond that, everything that, as a homogenous personality, he will not admit to himself' (Freud 1916-17, p. 42).

Transference

Freud offered the additional insight that such a process would inevitably lead to the patient transferring onto the therapist and respond to this individual in accordance with the internalized parental figures of their past. Despite evidence of inappropriate reactions on the part of the patient toward the therapist, Freud did not advocate the termination of the relationship. He viewed such responses as evidence of the relational structure that the individual had formulated on the basis of their past interpersonal experiences and, consequently, was central to furthering therapeutic gains. Similarly, the patient who envisions the therapist as an omnipotent and omniscient figure was also seen as a wishful illusion of the divine parent. While such perceptions may bring forth positive feelings on the part of the patient, Freud again stressed that therapeutic

idolatry did not correspond with reality and should be recognized for the emotional significance it has in advancing an understanding of emotional liability.

Classical Psychoanalytic Thought, Therapy, and Women

Classical psychoanalytic theory propelled an inherent bias against women regarding the potential therapeutic benefits which, given the prevailing cultural attitudes about women at the time of Freud's life, and his own attitudes in particular, was not surprising. Freud was frequently misguided about the origin of the problems with which many of his female patients were presenting. It is easy in retrospect to realize that it was Freud's own unconscious baggage that clouded a more accurate understanding of women. Such things as dependence, attachment, separation, loss, anxiety, trauma, psychosexual development, narcissism, conflict, internalization, identification, mechanisms of defence, and resistance, are some of the pivotal concepts that he originated, followed by their subsequent expansion and amendment. These terms arise within the clinical setting not for either men or women but for *both* men and women. It is not only sexist but quite misleading to suggest on the basis of gender alone, as Freud did, that one sex is more independent than the other, has a greater need for attachment, is more traumatized and anxious, has greater difficulty with psychosexual development, is more narcissistic, suffers more emotional conflict, internalizes more, has a stronger sense of identification, employs more mechanisms of defence, or is more resistant to therapeutic change, than the other. The particular balance and unique make-up of each individual will be just that, specific to their own unique

developmental history. This personal ancestry will consist of the primary influences of the family, coupled with the secondary influences of the cultural and social organization to which they are exposed, about which fixed generalizations related to gender, are, from a clinical perspective, of limited value and potentially harmful.

Part 2

Object Relations Theory and Spousal Abuse

In response to the compelling evidence which implicates men for the central role they play in the existence of violence toward women, and relying heavily on contributions from Fairbairn's object relations perspective, additional information will be offered throughout this section that may be gleaned from the body of facts which substantiates the mistreatment of women by men. The following comments are restricted primarily to relationships in which women are *chronically* abused by their male partners. Such abuse is defined by one or more forms of physical, sexual, and verbal assault. It may also be argued that such extreme forms of abuse are certainly not necessary to constitute relationships in which the mistreatment of women has been long-standing. Comments regarding the latter will be reserved in Part 3 of the paper under the sub-heading *Gender Socialization and the Mistreatment of Women and Children*, and will include, among others, highlighted remarks from the feminist object relational perspectives of Chodorow (1978), Dinnerstein (1977), Benjamin (1988), Sayers (1986), and Burack (1994).

A Canadian Statistical Review of Violence Against Women

In 1993 Statistics Canada reported that: fifty-one percent of all women experience at least one incident of physical or sexual abuse after the age of sixteen; one in four women report being abused by an intimate partner at least once in their lifetime; seven in ten young women (thirteen

- eighteen years old) report having experienced unwanted touching, four in ten unwanted propositions, and one in ten propositions with threats; twenty-nine percent of ever-married women experienced either physical or sexual violence by a current or previous marital/common-law partner; ninety-two percent of cases of spousal assault are committed against women with ninety-three percent of the accused being men; thirty-eight percent of the cases of female victims of homicide were killed by their husbands versus six percent of the cases of male victims who were killed by their wives, and the majority of the latter occurred in self defence. In 1991 The Canadian Advisory Council On The Status Of Women reported that at least one in ten women are physically and/or sexually assaulted each year by a husband, ex-husband, or live-in partner; a woman is hit by her husband or partner an average of thirty times before she calls the police; and in any given year, if a woman is assaulted by a man in the community, it is thirteen times more likely to be by her partner than a stranger. This same committee also reported that there is a sexual assault committed in Canada every seventeen minutes and that ninety percent of the victims are female; one in four women are sexually assaulted at some time in their lives (half before the age of seventeen); and that between sixty-three and eighty-three percent of female victims of sexual assault are assaulted by someone they know. In 1985 a Canada-wide survey published by the Solicitor General estimated that of the 17,300 sexual assault incidents in Canada, ninety percent involved female victims and fewer than forty percent were reported to the police. In her 1985 study on wife abuse in Canada, Linda MacLeod estimated that almost one million women were assaulted each year in Canada (MacLeod 1987).

Such data evoke powerful emotional response toward men with respect to the attitudes they hold about women. It is not surprising, then, that throughout Canada there has been an increased attempt over the last decade to raise awareness of what the director of the London (Ontario) Family Court Clinic emphasizes as a growing problem for Canadian women, for which men can essentially be assigned the status of either 'part of the problem, or part of the solution' (Jaffe 1994). This information, and advocates who present it, clearly identifies males as the primary gender who are responsible for violence toward women. 'Many researchers espouse that female violence will come to an end only when society no longer accepts the legitimacy of violence as a means of resolving conflicts and the legitimacy of social and economic inequality between the sexes' (Begin 1991, p. 28). What is needed is 'the empowerment of women through a wide range of programs to secure economic and social equality, employment equity, pay equity, and access to training and education, which would ensure that the victims of violence would have real choices in the long term' (House of Commons Standing Committee 1990).

'Domestic Violence Epidemic? Not By the Stats' (Singer 2000)

In his article *Domestic Violence Epidemic? Not By the Stats*, Singer (2000) provides some interesting additional statistical information which places those presented above into a slightly different perspective. For example, he notes that in a Canada Wide Survey of Violent Crimes between the dates of 1979 and 1999, there has been an *increase* from six per one thousand persons in 1979, to nine in 1999. However, during approximately the same period the figures

for domestic violence, specifically, female spousal homicide, have *decreased* from fourteen per one million couples in 1979, to nine per one million couples in 1997. Moreover, the Statistics Canada General Social Survey on Violence Against Women which compared the years 1994-99 with 1988-93, also indicated a *decline in spousal abuse against women*, from twelve percent reporting at least one incident of abuse between 1988-93, to eight percent between 1994-99. Similarly, from the Statistics Canada General Social Survey of 2000, of the 14,300 women who were interviewed, one percent claimed to have been the victims of physical or sexual assault during the past year, with the vast majority of these occurring within common-law marriage relationships (the incidence being four times greater than for couples living in traditional marriages). Singer also found that the incidence of domestic violence was six and three times higher, respectively, in relationships where a partner (generally the man) drank heavily, and for couples living within a low socio-economic means. Despite the prominently featured reports by the media alleging the epidemic proportions of domestic violence in Canada, there are statistics to refute such a claim.

Abusive Relationships Between Men and Women - A Game of Chance?

It might be asked that if fifty percent of all Canadian women experience at least one incident of physical or sexual abuse after the age of sixteen, would it be accurate to conclude that every woman in Canada has a fifty/fifty chance of being assaulted in the course of her life? Should we assume that those who have not yet been assaulted have merely been fortunate while those who

have, were not? If twenty-nine percent of women who have ever been married report that they have been physically or sexually abused at least once by a previous or current partner, and twenty-five percent abused at least once by an intimate partner, may we conclude that when it comes to the selection of an intimate partner, women are overly trusting, or that the selection of a non-abusive partner is a high risk decision? If women are thirteen times more likely to be assaulted by someone they know rather than a complete stranger, should they assume an attitude of caution and fear toward the acquaintances they have with men because of the likelihood that if they are going to be assaulted it will be by one of these persons? Can we surmise that women require guidance and protection when it comes to their ability to make decisions that pertain to relationships with men, either intimate or casual acquaintances, because of the frequency with which they contain elements of abuse? If the majority of women who are abused do not report the crime, and instead remain with the abuser due to economic dependence, fear of retaliation that could result in injury or death, and lack of confidence in the police (Solicitor General 1985), are we to assume that remaining in a violent setting where injury and death are virtually inevitable, is accepted as a necessary alternative to economic deprivation and the threat of more severe forms of violence?

Psychopathology and the Views of Klein

Melanie Klein's views about the psychology of the individual were premised on what she reported to be her work with pre-oedipal aged children. Although she retained much of the

mechanized language contained in classical psychoanalytic thought, she modified some of Freud's fundamental claims. In addition to what she proposed was the autonomous nature of the instinctual drives of both love (sex) and hate (aggression); she claimed that they were also directly linked to objects, primarily internal. Mental health and pathology were, for Klein, based on a continuum; the achievement of which was the ongoing struggle for a balance between the conflicting drives of love and hate operating in a relational capacity with other objects, predominately imaginary, and to a limited extent, actual (Greenberg and Mitchell 1983, p. 221). Within this paradigm, the central goal for all persons is the perpetual attempt to resolve the conflict between our innate drive toward hateful destruction, as well as the desire for loving restoration.

Klein's work began with Freud's assertion that the mother-infant relationship was filtered through the oral, anal, and genital stages of development. She claimed that the baby begins its relationship with the mother via the oral mode, relating first to the breast (or bottle) as a *part object*, that is, as something which is associated with the mother, but not recognized as actually being the mother herself. In addition to existing in external reality this part object occupies a central place in what Klein emphasized was the child's world of unconscious phantasy, which included separate independent objects, thought to contain either good or bad qualities, depending on whether they were phantasized to be either gratifying or frustrating. All infants were viewed to hold an ambivalent attitude about the objects that represented the internal part of their make-up, because of the perceived inability of those objects to provide immediate

gratification as they appeared to be beyond their absolute control.

Klein felt that the infant's ego was sufficiently fragile, that it would experience its own instinctual hatred which it directed toward these various internal parts, namely, the breast, as a threat to its existence. To defend itself against the anxiety that this produces, Klein claimed that the infant would engage in the process of *splitting* (Klein 1952). In contrast to Fairbairn's subsequent use of the term, Klein felt that the infant would take its own hostility and project it, in phantasy, into the mother. The mother is then perceived to be the one who hates the baby which then results in the child's fear of persecution. As Klein herself expressed it, 'The child's impulse to devour the mother gives rise to the fear of the mother herself being a devouring and dangerous object' (1952, p. 108). Klein refers to this developmental challenge which involves the combination of instinctual hatred, projection, and fear of the mother, as the 'paranoid-schizoid' position (1930, p. 112). She argued that as a result of people's innate capacity to love and hate there would be a conflict between internal images of good and bad objects, from which envy would ensue; essentially the wish to destroy the powerful object on whom the infant depends, but likewise, whose wishes the mother appears to refuse to gratify. Thus, Klein felt that *envy* (1975, vol. III) would always illicit negative feelings toward the mother by girls and boys, resulting in both sexes seeking to unconsciously attack and destroy this figure. In other words, because we unconsciously regard the mother as a life-line who possesses god-like abilities, in comparison to which we feel impotent, we envy her. By destroying her (unconsciously), we hope to eradicate our own feelings of helplessness and vulnerability which her presence serves to remind

us.

As the life of the child progressed Klein reasoned that it would gradually fuse the internalized images of the part objects that originally represented the mother, thereby forming a whole object that approximated reality more so than the previously compartmentalized phantasies (1952, p. 74). The fusion of these two opposing images, however, was said to give rise to a new set of anxieties. A more realistic impression of the mother necessitated the recognition that the object that is loved (mother) and the object that is hated (also mother) are no longer part objects, but one and the same. As a result of the unconscious phantasy that by attacking the hated and envied object, the child realizes that it might destroy and thereby lose the object for whom it also feels love and is dependent upon. Klein formulated the concept of the *depressive position* (1935) to refer to an assortment of anxieties about the loss of the mother which she asserted were the result of the child recognizing the mother as a whole and separate object. It is also noteworthy that she regarded this position to be a psychological advance on the paranoid-schizoid position. To defend against the anxieties associated with the depressive position, Klein argued that the child would develop an attitude of contempt and denigration for the mother, the loss of such a vilified person being emotionally inconsequential. To achieve such an attitude the child is said to deny its dependence on the mother, which Klein felt could be witnessed by the strength of the temper tantrums often exhibited by two year old children. The claim that such outbursts were reflective of the child's desire to vehemently reject the dependence with which it feels toward the mother was also based on the strength of the child's reactions to the mother's

attempts to intervene. The more powerless the child feels itself to be when compared with the mother's perceived capacities, the more it will reject and denounce her, particularly during moments when she restrains it from exercising its own independent wishes. However, in an attempt to preserve the many positive elements of the, now, whole object mother, Klein felt that the child would turn toward 'reparation and gratitude' (1975, vol. I) for the previous phantasized attacks made upon her. Such attempts to repair or compensate for previously imagined wrongdoings by the child, were said to reveal an acknowledgment of the child's own envy and hatred. Further, the process of reparation and feelings of gratitude demonstrate the genuine love and appreciation for the many positive elements and experiences received in connection with the mother. Klein emphasized the importance of the both parents surviving the inevitability of the child's unconscious phantasized attacks, without retaliation, which furthers the course of establishing a more realistic attitude about itself and each of the parents.

Fairbairn's Overt Rejection of Freud and Implied Criticism of Klein

Various Freudian-trained analysts began working with adults who were more disturbed than the neurotic patients reported by Freud but less disturbed than patients whose contact with reality would suggest a schizophrenic disorder. Rather than dealing with symptoms of neurosis that were often characterized by excessive control and anxiety, these were persons who exhibited disturbances in terms of an absence of control surrounding such things as eating, drinking, aggression, sexuality, addictive behaviour, and trust. Fairbairn was one such analyst who started to openly disagree with certain aspects of Freudian theory. He began by asserting that the

dependency of the child on the mother was more important to the development of personality than Freud's belief in the primacy of instinctual drives. It was Fairbairn's conclusion that disturbances in the development of the ego were responsible for the character disorders these persons exhibited. He reasoned that as a result of unmet childhood needs the growth of the ego had been stunted and distorted. He further argued that the traumas in the childhood of the adult with a character disorder were not acute, as in the case of neurotic conflict, but chronic. Their developmental histories were felt to comprise cumulative traumas in which repeated disappointments and frustrations built up over time. Instead of repressing a particular incident that remained unresolved, these persons were believed to have repressed entire groups of memories and patterns that were the result of years of abuse, neglect, and deprivation.

Fairbairn argues that emotional development occurs through the process of the individual gradually making the transition from an early state of infantile dependence which is characterized by the infant's bond with an object, to a state of mature dependence based on differentiation (emotional distancing) from that being. By *object* Fairbairn was essentially referring to other persons, the earliest figure being that of the mother. When a child feels sincerely loved it is capable of emotional separation, because it is secure in the knowledge that it can depend on the external object(s) on which it relies. When this security is absent, however, the ability to distance oneself from a state of infantile dependence becomes problematic ' . . . for such renunciation would be equivalent in his eyes to forfeiting all hope of ever obtaining the satisfaction of his unsatisfied emotional needs' (Fairbairn 1952, p. 39). A failure to achieve differentiation of the self from the other is reflected in the individual's preoccupation with the

unconscious desire for change in the original object. In this way it enters into relationships with others not based on mature dependence but clinging to the unsatisfied object relations of its past with the unconscious hope that its unfulfilled needs will eventually be met. 'The abandonment of infantile dependence involves an abandonment of relationships based upon primary identification in favour of relationships with differentiated objects' (1952, p. 42).

Fairbairn's Alternative View of Klein's Concept of Splitting

While it may be accepted that all mother's provide their infants with moments of frustration and deprivation as well nurturing care, it is the relative balance between these two that both Fairbairn (1952) and Balint (1939) believed would be the reason for the degree of alleged ambivalence that a child would feel toward its mother. 'Ambivalence is not itself a primal state, but one which arises as a reaction to deprivation and frustration' (Fairbairn 1952, p. 171). We may surmise that when patterns of care are established in which repeated experiences of disappointment, frustration, neglect, and deprivation prevail, the child will experience its world (which initially occurs via the mother) as harsh and threatening. However, in an effort to preserve the mother's goodness, on which the child must continue to depend, and at the same time preserve a safe environment in which extreme anxiety is kept at bay, Fairbairn reasoned that such a child is essentially forced to mentally divide the mother into both a good and bad object. The result of unsatisfying or failed object relational components with the mother, then, is that the child's *original pristine unitary ego* which Fairbairn felt was oriented toward external reality from the start of life and exists in connection with its relationship with the central object, becomes

fragmented. For Fairbairn, Klein's original formulation of *splitting* is employed as a defence against conditions of mistreatment, and not in an effort to externalize what is internal and threatening. Therefore, Fairbairn proposed that both the ego, together with its object, was *split* (intrapsychically) into three separate entities: 1. The *ideal object* refers to the gratifying and pleasurable aspects of the mother, and is attached to what he termed the *central* or *core ego*. 2. The *exciting object* refers to the appealing and promising elements of the central figure, and is attached to the *libidinal ego* which perpetually seeks and longs for the satisfaction of what appear to be opportunities for meaningful relatedness. The libidinal ego is the part of the central ego that has not been relinquished; the wishes, hopes, and needs that were not fulfilled during dependency, and yet may be realized through some future relationship. However, these remain in a perpetually deprived relationship with the exciting object where the promise for fulfilment is kept alive but the actualization for such longings are eluded, as such satisfactions would then provide the ability to break the established pattern of relational bonds and permit separation from the needed object, and therefore the onslaught of intense anxiety. 3. The *rejecting object* refers to the depriving, withholding, rejecting and generally negative qualities of the mother, and is attached to the *anti-libidinal ego* or *internal saboteur* wherein object relationships are entered into with figures who treat the individual in precisely the same manner through which parents established negative contact. Within this framework, objects of love and attraction are selected for their ability to tempt the unconscious wish for fulfilment and yet continue to disappoint since they perpetuate the unconscious prototype of object relationships with which one was originally introduced and became established. This component of the ego becomes the repository for hatred and destructiveness as a consequence of frustrated early object relations. The child

represses the rage it felt toward its mother (and later the father) for the excessive frustration and disappointment that was experienced, and will, from time to time, attack the *exciting object* for providing the illusion of hope and the possibility of positive relatedness. It is responsible for the self-punitive aspects of psychopathology, because it encourages the individual to enter a relationship which was preceded by a history characterized by false promises, pain, suffering, but also the continued need for contact. Although Fairbairn clearly emphasized the primacy of the mother over the father, the relationship between the infant and its father was said to follow the pattern established with the mother; thus, two sets of unconscious constructs are formed through which a process of layering and fusion, ultimately result in a single ideal, exciting, and rejecting object (Fairbairn 1944, 1946).

Fairbairn's View of Internalized Objects

Commensurate with the quality of the child's early object relations will be the extent to which its ego structure is fragmented versus integrated. While Fairbairn does write about the internalization of good objects, the majority of his remarks are in reference to the internalization of bad objects. Guntrip (1969) has attempted to clarify this issue by suggesting that there are two kinds of internalization. First, the internalization of good object relations which are stored as positive memories and provide psychic nourishment for mental and emotional development; and second, the internalization of negative object relational experiences that are implemented as a psychological defence which impede and distort mental growth and functioning. Disturbances in development are said to arise from the various ways in which an infant's primary interpersonal

needs either fail to be or are inadequately met through the relational dialogue between itself and its mother. This precipitates the child's potential need to emotionally defend itself, which in turn impairs mental and emotional functioning. 'From the point of view which I have now come to adopt, psychology may be said to resolve itself into a study of the relationships of the individual to his objects, whilst, in similar terms, psychopathology may be said to resolve itself more specifically into a study of the relationships of the ego to its internalized objects' (Fairbairn 1952, p. 60). In this sense psychopathology is not about conflicts concerning pleasure-seeking impulses or the clash between instinctual aggression and social constraints, but of conflicts and failures between the central figures on whom the child is initially entirely dependent. The severity of pathology will depend upon how much of the central ego remains connected to the ideal object versus how much is bound up with the exciting and rejecting objects. Psychological distress is understood as a direct by-product of the affective responses that derived from the child's experiences with the mother which were subsequently internalized in an effort to defend against psychic trauma, and therefore impair healthy functioning.

The Moral Defence Against Bad Objects

Fairbairn worked from 1927 to 1935 in the equivalent of a public orphanage for children who had been removed from their homes because of severe physical abuse. He observed that these children remained extraordinarily attached, both in fantasy and in reality, to the very parents who had mistreated them. This observation came as a particular surprise since conventional logic would suggest that such children would be fearful and anxious to escape from these abusive

figures and yet precisely the opposite attitude was evidenced. When Fairbairn questioned these children about their parents behaviour they insisted that they were genuinely ideal parents and that it was, in fact, themselves who were responsible for any problems within the family. Each of these observations led Fairbairn to construct a psychological model of development in which emotional disturbance was seen as an extension of the attachment of children to some form of abusive figure.

The single greatest trauma that a child can suffer, according to Fairbairn, is to feel fundamentally unloved by their mother. Not only does the child require this love, but they must know that the love they feel for her is accepted and valued, otherwise they will conclude that their own feelings, and ultimately themselves, are worthless. Fairbairn's observations led him to the conclusion that the child's dependence on its primary object (mother), whether she was loving and nurturing or depriving and cruel, was absolute. The child has no choice in the quality of care it receives. From his experiences with abused children, Fairbairn came to the ironic realization that the rejected child would be *less* capable of distancing itself from the mother than the loved and accepted child, because its needs remain unfulfilled. From the strongly expressed desire of these children to *return to the bad object* even at the risk of death, Fairbairn concluded that it was the combination of absolute dependence, the psychological requirement that various fundamental relational needs be met, and the resulting pain from the failure to meet these needs, that motivated such children to return to these potentially life-threatening persons. Even when the individual was of an age that they were capable of physically removing themselves from such an environment, Fairbairn found that they would continue to seek out and establish relationships

with others who held similar attitudes and behaved very much as their original abusive care-providers.

It was Fairbairn's contention that objects (persons) that are depended upon for survival but are emotionally and physically unavailable, will be experienced, intrapsychically, as *bad*. To cope with the *badness* of such objects the child is said to internalize these inadequacies in an effort to control and manage the anxiety they represent. 'The bad object is internalized in order to remove it from outer reality, where it eludes his control, to the sphere of inner reality where it can be better controlled' (Fairbairn 1952, p. 58). The child essentially denies the reality of the emotional danger of its situation as such recognition would be unbearable. By 'taking upon himself the burden of badness which appears to reside in his objects and thus purging the objects of their badness, the child is rewarded by that sense of security which an environment of good objects so characteristically confers' (p. 65). Such splits in the ego are an attempt by the infant to defend itself against the emotional anguish which its world entails. The child inverts the reality of its treatment by accepting that it is in some way responsible for the treatment it receives. In essence, it concludes that if it was not for the problems it unconsciously feels *it* represents in the form of excessive wants, needs, demands, and general behaviour in the company of its parents, then presumably it would not be treated the way it is. The only viable unconscious explanation for why it is treated badly is because it must be bad. By unconsciously taking the *badness* of these object upon itself it maintains an illusion of an environment that is safe and supportive. This is what he termed the *moral defence against the bad object*. For Fairbairn, the core of the repressed represented the inverted *badness* of the parents which the child internalized in an effort

to maintain safe contact, contact that was unavoidable and therefore essential for it be safe. Fairbairn noted that the greater the emotional void between the infant and its mother in terms of need fulfilment, sensitivity, emotional connection, and general satisfaction, the greater would be the individual's devotion to the promising (exciting) and yet depriving (rejecting) aspects of its future object relations. This is what Fairbairn referred to as the individual's *obstinate attachment* (1944, p. 117) to love objects that *appear* to provide the hope of satisfying unmet childhood needs, but also their sustaining of disappointments which serves to perpetuate the longing and need for fulfilment from the promising or exciting object.

Spousal Abuse and Fairbairn

It would be a serious omission and grossly inaccurate if one were to fail to acknowledge the historical evidence which supports that, in general, women are vulnerable to becoming the victims and have been victimized of certain specific crimes and social inequalities at the hands of men. However, from Fairbairn's object relations perspective it would also be erroneous to suggest that *every* woman is equally at risk of being abused by a man, or similarly, that *every* man is at risk of being abusive. Using Fairbairn's reasoning the argument will be outlined that it is the psychological partnership of *certain* men *and* women which together perpetrates and perpetuates chronically abusive relationships; that neither sex works in isolation, rather, it is an unconscious willingness by each to engage in a relationship in which abuse is a continuation of a disturbed object relational history.

Differentiation, Integration, and Introjection

Although Fairbairn would reject the instinctual basis for the claims that were made concerning the ego by persons like Hartmann (1958) and Rapaport (1967), the terms differentiation, integration, and introjection may advance our awareness of the antecedents of relationships in which abuse is a primary component.

Differentiation

The achievement of differentiation, this being the ability to distance oneself physically and emotionally from the primary figures in one's life while at the same time maintaining a firm emotional connection during the course of establishing one's independence, is one of the central developmental abilities of the mature ego. While mothers possess the ability to foster differentiation, Bowlby (1988) notes that they can thwart such growth through a form of role reversal wherein the child is required to meet the unmet emotional needs of its mother, and the child's state of dependence, exploited. Bowlby recognized that attempts by such children to distance themselves from these kinds of mothers could be felt to be reflective of the mother's own sense of worthlessness. 'They rely on their child's dependent state to reaffirm their own fragile sense of self-worth' (1988, p. 43). He further notes that the net effect of such a relationship is that it: damages the child's desire for autonomy and independence, and ability to develop positive relationships with others', induces the repression of reality in the sense that the child cannot acknowledge the mother's own self-centeredness; and creates an emotional

atmosphere through which the child is incapable of controlling its own behaviour (ibid.). In marked contrast to the child whose maternal experiences facilitate the gradual move toward increased separation and the achievement of healthy autonomy (which includes continued attachment), the needs of the abused child increase exponentially, as it is not just the needs of the individual who is, say, aged six that are being neglected, but also the developmental needs when they were five, four, three, and so on. Masterson (1988) noted that, while it is to be expected that all children will experience moments of distress during their development that mothers have the capacity to ameliorate but not prevent completely, mothers who were themselves victims of inadequate parental care frequently find such distress intolerable since the child's upset inflames their own unconsciously devalued sense of worth as a person (which includes her role as a mother), thereby exacerbating the child's anxiety and need to act out (p. 56) A mother of this type, he suggested, will frequently interpret the distress shown by her child as behaviour intended to punish her for the kind of person she feels herself to be. While there are several possible responses that a mother may give which include giving up all efforts to appease the child's sense of distress, harsh and punitive treatment, and offers of emotional bribery as mechanisms for control, Masterson observed that the primary objective of such emotionally starved mothers appeared to be caring for the child to the exclusion of the father. 'A collusive agreement between the mother and father would be entered into through which the father was encouraged to distance himself from the home for some reason, in exchange for the mother achieving the exclusive right to care for (and control) her child, all in an attempt to fill her own emotional void' (p. 56-57). Bowlby points out further that some mothers actually invert '... the normal parent-child relationship, requiring the child to act as parent whilst she becomes

a child. . . What is of special relevance here is that more often than not the child is expected to be grateful for such care as he receives and not notice the demands being made upon him' (1988, p. 107).

Fairbairn noted that the fundamental reason why the emotionally malnourished child is incapable of emotionally detaching from such a parent is because this distancing would end any hope of receiving the support and nurturance it required, desired, and therefore craves. For such persons the achievement of a relationship with someone in later life that is guided by such qualities as mutual dependency, trust, and love, cannot be accepted, since these attributes are unconsciously equated with a fulfilment that would enable a mature separation from the originally patterned object relational figures. These are persons for whom the *return to the bad object* is theorized to be very much at risk since such relationships, despite their destructive nature, diminish their sense of emptiness and isolation. The absence of differentiation, despite being in connection to an object that hurts, reduces their unconscious sense of abandonment and hopelessness (Fairbairn 1952).

Extrapolating from the observations of Fairbairn about abused children, it may be reasoned that adults who were mistreated in various ways during their childhoods may, in their pursuit of relationships, seek out partners who characterize the psychological parallel of earlier abusive figures. Applying Fairbairn's object relations perspective to abusive adult relationships, it is proposed that they entail a severe impairment on the part of its members to differentiate from one another, wherein one is engulfed and the other engulfing. The mutually dependant

relationship, on the other hand, consists of parties who have a secure sense of self. They do not allow the other to compromise their sense of identity by requiring that they attempt to fill an unconscious emotional void that resulted from experiences in relation to their original relational object(s). Further, the well-differentiated young adult will exercise the capacity to reject the influence of others from whom the warning signs of harm may be described as a *sense* or a *gut feeling*, albeit not at a conscious level, but which nevertheless are able to be discerned.

Winnicott: Integration of Part-Objects

A second important function of the ego that is facilitated via the experience of what Winnicott termed *good enough parenting* is the ability to integrate or fuse part-object perceptions into a complete entity. Winnicott's central interest in the development of the child was the perpetual struggle of all persons to achieve separation and individuation while at the same time feeling firmly emotionally connected to another. The difficulty becomes one of achieving a feeling of contentment with the establishment of independence without a sense of anxious abandonment, while remaining attached to the life-affirming figures from one's development without feeling suffocated or intruded upon (1986). Winnicott felt that any discussion about mental distress which occurred outside of its human relational context was essentially meaningless (1965, p. 57; 1971, pp. 83-84). Being strongly influenced by the work of Klein but being critical of her omission of the actual experiences between a mother and her infant, Winnicott claimed that rather than the mother being experienced and perceived as an object that is either all gratifying and good, or all frustrating and bad, the child whose positive and rewarding encounters far

exceeded those that are negative and punitive will be able to tolerate a parent who is less than perfect, but overall is basically good (Winnicott 1958). Conversely, the child for whom the preponderance of negative affective moments exceed the positive, will maintain a split image of its central figure. The failure of ego integration means an inability to perceive others in a realistic light. The individual's unfulfilled emotional needs obscures the ability to accurately assess the qualities of others which leads to the repetition of formative relationships that were harmful in nature. Within Winnicott's theoretical framework, how an infant experiences the world and organizes its thoughts regarding itself, will be conditional upon its mother's organized perceptions of it. Through her provision of an emotional *holding environment* the infant's thoughts and feelings are gradually integrated and comfortably secured. 'An infant who has had no one person to gather his bits together starts with a handicap in his own self-integrating task' (Winnicott 1958, p. 150). Stated more simply, if an infant is to mature into a healthy adult who is able to reasonably assess the psychological qualities of both themselves and others, it will require at least one central attachment figure on whom it can rely to reflect accurately its experiences with the world. This will necessitate empathic anticipation of a child's emotional and physical needs and desires. Although Winnicott recognizes the mother's physical presence and ministrations as being of considerable importance, he felt that maternal provisions operated independently of meeting an infant's biological needs. Much as the monkeys in Harlow's study (1958) showed a marked preference for surrogate mothers who did not provide any nutritive function, and likewise the children that Spitz (1945) observed were most susceptible to infectious diseases and death despite extreme efforts being taken to ensure a germ free environment: 'A baby can be fed without love, but lovelessness or impersonal management

cannot succeed in producing a new autonomous human child' (Winnicott 1971, p. 127). While it is possible for a child's needs to have the appearance of having been met, Winnicott's point was that a child cannot be unconsciously duped into healthy development through means that are devoid of the provision of emotional nourishment through a variety of means.

Placing Winnicott's psychological model within a physiological context, Hofer (1975, 1994, 1994) discovered that a non-maternal heat source did not maintain rat pups temperature. When a mother rat escaped from her cage, leaving behind a litter of pups, Hofer found that the heart rate of the pups was less than half of normal. He concluded that the absence of the mother had reduced the temperature of the pups cardiac cells, and therefore decided to restore their levels through a heat source which duplicated that of the mother's. However, their lowered heart rhythms remained. Puzzled by this discovery, Hofer proceeded to replace individual segments of the mother's sensory regulating properties. First, a piece of cloth with the mother's scent, second, a lamp from which heat approximated her temperature, and third, the strokes from a brush mirroring maternal licking, all served as partial substitutes for the mother herself. What Hofer found, however, was that restoring only one single maternal attribute could only prevent one physiological element of the pups despair, but did not have any generalized positive impact on the other aspects. Thus, the simulated warmth and smell of the mother influenced the pups activity level, tactile stimulation affected the pups rate of growth, and the provision and frequency of dispensing milk controlled their heart rate and sleep-wake patterns. Hofer had inadvertently stumbled upon the realization that not only is the bond between the infant and its mother crucial to regulate physiological functioning, but that the bond itself is formed from

mutually distinct strands that collectively work as a whole. When a mother is absent from its infant, it is akin to the premature removal of the supportive hands that are provided when one is learning to walk, and it collapses. Once separated from their central figures mammals fall into a state of disarray, with the expected rate of deterioration diminishing with age, but nevertheless, the ultimate suffering of the damaging effects of isolation remain true throughout the life cycle (Hoffer 1984; Kraemer 1992).

Introjection

Fairbairn's theory implies that if a child receives proper care it will experience the world as a place that is responsive to its needs, a place where its needs are felt to be important, and a place where it is safe and protected. As noted previously, he was of the belief that only negative experiences would be internalized as a defence against a hostile environment, while Guntrip attempted to address this issue by suggesting that a child's positive experiences would also be internalized and serve to support it during times of stress or, conversely, undermine its sense of self if its needs were rejected or mismanaged. Using Guntrip's *revised* interpretation of introjection, the internalization of positive *introjects* is a third function of the ego and further contributes to healthy development and mature interpersonal interaction (in addition to the possibility of being used as a defence).

The lack of positive introjects constitutes a major role in both the abuser and the alleged victim. The deprived child (now the adult) who invariably displays frenzied behaviour and little, if any,

impulse control is unable to tolerate even minor incidents of frustration, because they are in a constant state of *internal* frustration. These are persons for whom the reservoir of positive versus negative experiences were sufficiently infrequent that they have little internal resource from which to draw upon in order to control themselves. Fairbairn believed that any hate or aggressiveness shown by children was a direct responses to unmet and frustrated needs. If, however, the child attacked the parent because of their perceived *badness* the child would face an even worse situation, that being a parent who might, in retaliation, reject the child entirely. The mistreated child is both enraged by the care it receives as well as by its dependency needs which it continues to feel. The integration or fusion of what ego psychologists believe to be initially part-object representations of others, will only occur provided the negative experiences with the mother (and father) do not overwhelm the child as compared with the positive unconscious memories. When the parent behaves in a consistently loving, caring, and responsive manner to the needs of the child, adherents of object relations theory which places the actual transactions between a caretaker(s) and the child at the forefront of inspection, believe that the child will internalize a sense of itself as basically good, important, valued, and respected. When the reverse is the case, the child struggles with an intrapsychic impression of itself as bad, unimportant, worthless, and demanding. Such a child is believed to be internally fragmented and may easily be manipulated by others, uncertain of themselves, and have a distorted understanding of reality. Conversely, the child who achieves self-constancy will feel secure in the knowledge that they are loved and valued by the parent, even when that parent is angry or disappointed with them.

Masochism, Gender, and Freud

Freud viewed masochism as a normal aspect of the feminine character. 'Masochism comes under our observation in three forms: as a condition imposed on sexual excitation, as an expression of the feminine nature, and as a norm of behaviour' (1924, p. 160). Although he attributed masochistic fantasies to both men and women he hypothesized that it was primarily a feminine trait. '... if one has an opportunity of studying cases in which the masochistic fantasies have been especially richly elaborated, one quickly discovers that they place the subject in a characteristically female situation, they signify, that is, being castrated, or copulated with, or giving birth to a baby. . . This feminine masochism which we have been describing is entirely based on the primary, erotogenic masochism, on pleasure in pain' (p. 162). According to classical psychoanalytic thought, women were innately predisposed to masochism. The fact that they discover themselves to have been castrated necessarily dictates that sexual pleasure will be equated with pain, and any form of physical abuse will likewise be associated with sexual satisfaction. Relationships with men will invariably involve pain since this draws upon their instinctual feminine character. In response to this position it may be said that while object relations theorists would agree with the classical perspective that the battered woman unconsciously seeks out relationships with her abuser, the following outlines a challenge in response to the reasoning offered behind such behaviour.

The Illusion of Love

In his 1994 book *The Illusion of Love: Why the Battered Woman Returns to Her Abuser*, Celani uses much of object relations theory to explain domestic violence. He notes that male abusers may be diagnosed more often with narcissistic personality disorders and battered females with borderline personality disorders, but what lies at the heart of such disturbances, in his opinion, are adults who, as children, experienced emotional traumas and disappointments from repeated years of deprivation and neglect of which the cumulative effects produced a severely distorted and stunted ego (1994, pp. 66-67). While it is often common for society to accept the illusion of the male abuser being more independent, self-assured, aggressive, and in control of their lives as compared with their female counterpart who supposedly expresses dependence, self-doubt, passivity, and neediness, the argument here is that they hold far more in common than their symptomatic differences (p. 68).

The Abuser

The psychological profile of the future abuser, typically male, though many of the following characteristics apply to the battered, will be someone who: lacks the psychological capacity to differentiate from another because of the unconscious fear of abandonment; displays frequent evidence of aggression and impulsiveness due to his constant state of internal frustration and the unconscious expectation that his desires will not be fulfilled, and therefore is unable to defer immediate gratification; mentally collapses under the slightest emotional stress due to his fragile

sense of self; can only view others in terms of good or bad, right or wrong, rather than tolerate any degree of ambivalence; will often attempt to cope with an unconscious sense of lost hope for satisfying human contact through the habitual use of compensatory satisfactions which include food, alcohol, drugs, gambling, and material possessions; and will show a generalized absence of attachment to other persons (Celani 1994, pp. 74-102). Based on his clinical experience with battered women Celani concludes that the abuser, while most often male in connection with physical violence, though sometimes female for cases of emotional abuse, cannot calm himself during moments of stress and frustration because he lacks the experience of positive introjects from which to draw upon. 'They are generally totally dependent on their partner to regulate their emotional states, are intrusive, possessive, jealous, and attempt to control all aspects of their partner's life without which they unconsciously experience a sense of abandonment and insecurity. The abusive male will usually demand from his partner complete and total attention, this quality being absent from his own formative years' (1994, pp. 158-61). Incorporating Fairbairn's ideas Celani concludes that the frequent pattern of fear by males surrounding their partner's relationships with others is founded on a history of both real and imagined abandonment. Any acts of independence shown by his partner incite intense anxiety which threatens the unconscious desire for emotional symbiosis. The male abuser will likewise have a fragile sense of self-esteem that is expected and required to be nurtured by his partner. In the same way that abused toddlers were observed by Bowlby (1988, pp. 90-91) to be intent on making their chosen victim show distress, the adult abuser often harasses his partner as part of the escalation toward physical assault. The fear and anxiety evidenced by the woman may be sufficient to appease her partner during this initial stage of the battering scenario, but often the

inner rage of the then-repressed impotent infant will not be quelled and explodes at what is now unconsciously felt to be another withholding, frustrating caretaker, thereby resulting in some form of assault . The male abuser may then attempt to justify his actions by claiming that his partner was responsible for his behaviour as her treatment of him was intended to somehow provoke the magnitude of his response (Celani 1994, p. 162). With respect to sex, such men 'often approach sexuality with a demanding and controlling attitude as it represents their only form of closeness to another being. Sex becomes a substitute for emotional connectedness, serves to alleviate inner panic, and combats the internal sense of purposelessness' (pp. 96-97).

The Abused

An abused woman may, among the litany of various possible responses listed above, unconsciously accept her partner's overwhelming interest, concern, and possessiveness as indicative of the enormity of his love. The frailty of her own sense of self-worth is actually buoyed by the apparent antithesis of her partner's controlling attitude and behaviour when compared with her unconscious storehouse of experiences of rejection and disinterest of her parents (ibid. p. 159). As was the case with Fairbairn's abused children, the female victim of abuse is less fearful living *with* rather than *without* the abuser, despite the fact she may suffer more abuse or be killed, since his physical presence and emotional connection provides the unconscious function of warding off a fear of abandonment and therefore disintegration of the self (pp. 165-67). Fairbairn had discovered that the motivation for attachment, even to a *bad object*, superceded any fear of abuse, even if it were life threatening.

Within the context that has been presented, the perpetuation of spousal abuse is only possible when each partner uses the defence of *splitting* which obscures a realistic assessment of who their partner is in an abusive relationship. Operating within such psychological boundaries, it is entirely possible for a man to abuse his partner violently at one moment, immediately followed by a tenacious defence of his love, adoration, and need for the very same woman. Without a solid sense of who they are, the psychopath is capable of assuming numerous conflicting emotions without experiencing any particular inner conflict. This enables him to revert instantly from being a violent, humiliating, controlling abuser, to one who *sincerely* expresses gestures of love, affection, and concern which entice the abused woman's *hopeful self* back to her abuser. It is noteworthy that his attempts to remedy the damage he has inflicted on his partner are in fact genuine, but only to the extent that he too, is terrified of possible separation and thus the psychological loss this represents for him. The woman who likewise suffers abuse at the hands of her partner willingly accepts any offers of apology, regret, and strength of his resolve to make amends, as such actions fulfil the unconscious wish for reparation to occur with the pivotal figures of her past which remain in conflict. The relationship is sustained since neither participant is emotionally capable of differentiating from the other, has not internalized positive introjects; and has failed to integrate part-objects which together translate into observable behaviour that would otherwise negate the opportunity for an interpersonal relationship in which abuse is sustained. Similarly, Lachkar (1992) also uses object relations theory to provide the basis for what she refers to metaphorically as the ongoing relational *dance* in which a narcissistic/borderline couple perpetuate their respective behavioural pathology (pp. 32-86).

The Male Abuser and Social Learning Theory

In response to the argument espoused by social learning theorists that a boy will learn to model his father's violent behaviour toward a woman, is the acceptance that male abusers often witness their own fathers abusing their mothers. However, rather than this being understood as the patterning of an acceptable role model with whom to identify, it is argued that children who are the victims of domestic violence will themselves be emotionally deprived.. What is proposed they *learn* from the inner frustration and emptiness of their father who behaves in this way, as well as the attachment of their mother (the prototype for all subsequent women) to a man who is an abuser, is that abusive behaviour becomes internalized as a viable coping strategy for dealing with their own inner pain.

The Psychological Effects of Abuse

There is research to support the position that women who are abused by the man with whom they are in an intimate relationship subsequently suffer from low self-esteem, anxiety, loss of control, isolation, passivity in their interpersonal relationships, acceptance of responsibility for such violence, and will protect and defend the very men who beat them (Pressman 1984, pp. 26-29). 'Many battered women's coping techniques, acquired to protect them from further violence, have been viewed as evidence of severe personality disorders. These women suffer from situationally imposed emotional problems caused by their victimization. They do not choose to be battered because of some personality defect; they develop behaviour disturbances because

they live in violence' (Walker 1979, p. 229). The claim here is that wife assault *causes* psychological trauma that induces anger, fear, lack of trust, lowered self-esteem, depression, anxiety, guilt, shame, and problems relating to men (Statistics Canada 1994, p. 15). The reasoning is that physical and sexual violence against women *creates* emotional trauma that leads the victim to such things as alcohol and drug abuse as a means of easing such pain (House of Commons 1991, 9:21). The feminist thrust by Clarke (1990) on violence against women and children advocates that:

If we could deal effectively with violence against women and children, most of our crime control problems would disappear because as current empirical data make clear, abuse of children is probably the biggest single factor in creating those we now label criminals. So the first principle of a feminist criminal justice system is that the regulation, control, and ultimate elimination of . . . violence directed against women and children, is a first priority (1990, p. 428).

Why the Abused Returns To Her Abuser

A radical departure from the inevitable psychological consequences of abuse mentioned above is the reasoning of Armstrong-Perlman (1991) who proposes that it is the individual with an already severely damaged ego who unconsciously selects and constructs a relationship in which abuse takes place. One of the primary reasons that abused women stay with their battering partner, she contends, has little to do with economic dependence or social support systems. The battered woman's fear of separation and the ensuing collapse of an already fragile ego surpasses the reality of her safety and potential for emotional satisfaction.

The loss of the relationship, or rather the hope of the relationship, cannot be borne. The frustrating aspects of the relationship are denied as well as the consequent rage, hatred, humiliation, and the shame regarding the humiliation. . . . The need is compulsive and the

fantasy of loss is experienced as potentially catastrophic, either leading to the disintegration of the self, or a fear of a reclusive emptiness to which any state of connectedness, no matter how infused with suffering, is preferable. . . .They cannot acknowledge the hopelessness of that relationship, or that its satisfactions are partial and illusory, for to give up that hope may lead to a collapse of the self (Armstrong-Perlman 1991, pp. 243-56).

From the vantage point of Fairbairn's object relations perspective, the only persons who are actually enslaved to the ongoing effects of domestic violence are children, in the sense that they are quite incapable, both physically and emotionally, of removing themselves from an environment which threatens healthy development, and yet upon which they must rely. Adult women can only be considered victims of relationships in which they are chronically abused in the same way that their male abusers can, which occurred during their formative years, wherein the intrapsychic foundation of relations with others was established. However, these are persons who, as adults, have the *potential* and *means* to change their situation, which children are clearly without. How this abuse is manifested in terms of every participant acting out their respective inner pain certainly appears to be influenced by gender in the sense that men seem to be more prone to externalize, while women, internalize. Fairbairn's theory implicitly asserts, however, that women also contribute to domestic violence in the sense that they unconsciously agree to select a partner who is abusive toward both themselves and their children. Accordingly, if spousal abuse is to be properly addressed it may do so only if *both* the adult woman and adult man are recognized for the role they each play in orchestrating and sustaining their abusive relationship. In response to the feminist argument that femininity encourages passivity, compliance, submission, obedience, and economic dependence, while masculinity condones aggression, dominance, authority, control, and financial independence, the question might be

asked, 'What are the familial and social precipitants that would induce both a man or a woman to select a partner in which this form of relational dialogue is selected and perpetuated?' The assertion that, 'the causes of violence against women is both a frightening symptom and a product of the subordination of women in society which subjugate women's social and economic position in society' (House of Commons 1991, 13, 20-21) is, within this paradigm, a matter of misdirected prioritization. Armstrong-Perlman's point is that while we can accept that relationships in which abuse is an incessant quality will further contribute to the denigration of an already damaged soul, she rejects the idea that such a depreciated value originates with mistreatment in adulthood for which patriarchy is responsible. It is interesting to note from their research on sexual abuse that Monck et al. (1991) found that forty-three percent of the mothers of children who had been abused, had been abused themselves as children, and likewise, approximately thirty percent of men who had abused as adults, had been abused during childhood. Similarly, Dutton (1998), Johnston (1999) and Orcutt (1995) state their unequivocal findings with hundreds of cases of victims of abuse, as well as those who abuse, arises from the development of a ravished personality between early childhood and adulthood.. Although violence within the home was generally noted, this was not a necessary precondition for the subsequent enactment of relationships in which abuse was a primary component. Far more subtle forms of neglect, which might otherwise be regarded as *normal*, were able to produce very similar results. Object relations theory disagrees with the assumption that the enduring nature of domestic violence will only change when society's underlying beliefs about sex roles, gender inequality and power are made visible and challenged. The strength of the unconscious architecture which is said to govern the interaction between men and women, precedes and

supercedes the external influences of society. It does not view the likelihood of mutually satisfying dependent relationships between the sexes as a hostage to the negative influences of patriarchy or analogous to a game of chance.

Fairbairn's proposed *libidinal ego* or *exciting object* are the internal structures that motivate the individual to return to the rejecting object. He realized that the child's anticipation and excitement at the prospect of a parent who is gratifying, would surpass the reality of its abusive situation and result in the perception of a potentially gratifying (but also rejecting) object. What motivates the battered woman's attachment to her abuser is his ability to exploit her illusion of hope that her needs will be ultimately fulfilled. For Fairbairn, the bad object is a person who is able to stimulate the feeling of hope in his or her partner while repeatedly frustrating that very same person. The allure of the bad object is the combination of its enticing hope and promise of gratification, together with its frustrating and rejecting facets that perpetuate the original model of interpersonal abuse. If a woman's unconscious sense of worthlessness coincides with the current abuse she receives, she may willingly tolerate her familiar treatment from her new *caretaker*. The devaluation of her partner's love is accepted as a norm since this represents her unconscious understanding of how relationships are intended to function. To preserve the sanctity of her partner's worthiness as a love object she blames herself for being mocked, rejected, or demeaned by him, as she did as a child. She will continue to blame herself for her apparent deficiencies rather than acknowledge that her partner's behaviour is the result of his own internal frustration and emotional distress. Such an attitude preserves her partner as an object that is worthy of love. This is what Fairbairn meant by the *internal saboteur*. When the

individual is treated in a manner that is similar to the rejecting, discouraging, or otherwise disappointing parent, they will act out in response to these internal feelings of persecution but also agree with those appraisals which had been internalized throughout childhood, and arranged to be treated by others in a manner which would confirm their unconscious evaluation of themselves.

Returning for a moment to the literature from ethology which parallels this argument, Harlow concluded from his extensive work with rhesus monkeys that:

The natural and normal responses to affectionate stimuli are the antithesis of those to aggressive stimuli. The world within us and without guarantees that, given the choice, we will love before we can hate. Anger is often improperly thought to be an emotion prepotent over love, but this is the result of the fact that psychologists have published many papers on aggression and few on love. If early, antecedent affectional responses occurred, they would establish strong ties which limit and preclude the possibility of incipient, intense aggression. . . Primates either love early or they are apt to hate forever (Harlow 1986, p. 310).

His claim is that it would only be possible for an individual to attack, maim, or even kill their selected love object, if their formative developmental years allow for this through an absence of love.

Object Relations Theory and the Perception of Blame

In the same way that Freud's assertion of 'man not being the master of his psychic domain' represented a narcissistic injury, the claim that 'emotional disturbances have a relational history' is also threatening for the implicit assumption of blame or fault that it seems to contain.

Although some may view object relations theory as nothing more than another example of misogynistic Freudianism, this time in the form of *mother damning* in the face of patriarchal domination, it is precisely because of the independent research on infant behaviour which repeatedly confirms the importance of the mother in the development of the child, that the primary focus is upon her (as well as the father) as the figure(s) to which emotional health and disturbance is pivotal. No parent consciously sets about to frustrate, deprive, or otherwise fail to meet the developmental needs of their children in ways that promote disturbances. Parents intend on raising their children in a manner which fosters health and well being. We also know however that there is frequently a marked discrepancy between conscious intentions and actual behaviour. It was the divergence between what were thought to be the overt causes of specific behaviour, versus the covert reasons for selecting ways of acting and thinking that Freud pioneered. Fairbairn moved beyond Freud's instinctual deterministic model of human existence but retained the concept of behaviour being the outcome of relational experiences and information that remained at an unconscious rather than conscious level. Mothers (and fathers) carry their own unconscious history which will influence the patterns of interaction that are established between themselves and their children. It is the emotional effects of these relational experiences, both positive and negative, that are internalized, projected, and defended against. The mother who fails or inadequately responds to a psychological need of her child is not blamed in the sense that she consciously intended for a negative outcome, since such a mother is operating on the unconscious contents of her own upbringing (which include developmental difficulties), as well as the existential realities of the human condition. Object relations theorists certainly focus on the mother as the instrumental force that is responsible for the relative health

of the child, but to blame mothers for the disturbed patterns of interaction that they unwittingly engage in with respect to their children, would be to blame the mother for her own unconscious disturbances that were the result of the relational patterns with her own mother.

A Critical Evaluation of the Work of Fairbairn

I admire Fairbairn for his bold and unequivocal rejection of Freudian instinct theory, and alternatively, his proposal that humans have an innate propensity to pursue other objects rather than pleasure per se. His work emphasized the destructive nature of parental deprivation within early development. He offered a developmental theory within a purely relational context. Rather than internalized objects originating within the individual themselves, he suggested that they occurred as a result of severely disappointed primary object relations. Psychopathology is perpetuated, then, since it serves as a defensive measure which maintains an individual's unconscious need to be connected to the original primary figure, regardless of its destructive or impeding qualities.

Despite his insightful contributions there are some notable limitations. For Fairbairn, psychopathology is reduced to either the satisfaction of the infant's earliest dependency needs, or the frustration of such needs, and the accompanying internalization of the bad objects which arise from such failures. He does not seem to have a place for any middle ground. The relationship between a parent and their child is characterized by either the gratification of infantile dependency needs which enables differentiation and mature dependent relatedness, or

the child will be locked in a continual search for the missing gratification of its original needs. There is no acknowledgement of the positive benefits of parenting other than the meeting of the child's primary needs. For example, Fairbairn does not address the need for and gains that come from the setting of limits and boundaries by parents, which he restricts to either frustrating or gratifying. Despite arguing that the internalization of positive object relations are necessary for healthy development which enable the individual to interact with *real* persons in the external world, rather than be enmeshed in the internal struggle with internalized negative objects, he is vague about how such a process takes place. He characterises the infant as emerging at the time of birth with a fully developed *pristine unitary ego*, which is either nurtured or thwarted. He provides little recognition for how this state of completeness is a relative achievement which evolves over time. Fairbairn also devalues the potentially different developmental role that a father has on a child, viewing him as nothing more than a poor substitute for the mother. Finally, although Fairbairn does indicate at various points throughout his theorizing that the absolute availability of the parents and complete satisfaction of all infantile needs is a virtual impossibility, he does not therefore conclude that it is the nature of the human condition that an infant's needs cannot be gratified. He attributes the failure of parents to meet those needs to the generational impact of parental pathology, economic pressures, social demands, and cultural constraints (1952, 1954).

Clinical Implications

Therapy and the Psychoanalytic Process

As a physician Freud was well aware that the training and experience of his colleagues prepared them to anticipate and expect visible results in their patients within relatively brief periods of time. For Freud to suggest otherwise was to invite scepticism and repudiation; however, unlike the somatic complaints of his colleague's patients he was addressing concerns of an emotional nature. These were problems that his clinical experiences suggested could be traced to the emotional histories of the individuals with whom he was dealing, both men and women. They directed him to the conclusion that as a therapeutic process psychoanalysis was incompatible with the *quick fixes* common to the field of medicine. He was discovering that there was no magic pill, programme, or set of conditions from which rapid results could be achieved and sustained. His feeling was that therapeutic change required slow, labour intensive, and time consuming efforts.

In medical training you are accustomed to see things. You see an anatomical preparation, the precipitate of a chemical reaction, the shortening of a muscle as a result of the stimulation of its nerves. Later on, patients are demonstrated before your senses - the symptoms of their illness, the products of the pathological process and even in many cases the agent of the disease in isolation. Even in psychiatry the demonstration of patients with their altered facial expression, their mode of speech and their behaviour, affords you plenty of observations which leave a deep impression on you. In psychoanalysis, alas, everything is different (1916-17, pp. 40-46).

The Return of the Repressed

Freud challenged the view that an individual's emotional problem could be restricted to an isolated symptom. He believed that clinical psychiatry was acquainted with only the psychology of *consciousness*, addressing the symptoms of patients as some form of degeneracy. It was his contention that the manifestations of his patients were not isolated acts, but that they 'have a sense, serve a purpose and arise out of the patient's experiences in life' (1916-17, p. 278). From this perspective the removal of a symptom, although a worthwhile objective, fails to acknowledge that it is the symptom itself that is viewed as a symbol of an underlying conflict that operates on the unconscious level. To focus entirely on the symptom, even if this were possible, is to miss the significance of what it actually signifies. While disturbances in development at the actual time of their occurrence may appear in the form of acute symptomatic behaviour, because of the pain that is associated with the nature of these events, coupled with the fragility of the child's psyche, Freud offered the idea that these experiences will be banished from consciousness but would reappear at a later date in a disguised form of the original trauma-inducing experiences. ' . . . anxiety makes repression and not, as we used to think, the other way round, and [secondly] that the instinctual situation which is feared goes back ultimately to an external situation of danger' (1933, p. 121). 'The danger of psychological helplessness fits the stage of the ego's early immaturity; the danger of loss of an object (or loss of love) fits the lack of self-sufficiency in the first years of childhood . . .' (p. 120). Freud made us aware of the therapist's need to understand the unique history of each individual which contained repressed information and experiences from which symptomatic pathology arose. It is the result of the process of

working through the emotionally troubling elements of one's past wherein unresolved conflicts, disturbed internalized relationships, mental confusion, emotional splitting, et cetera, receive the opportunity to be reconciled, amended, clarified, and gradually restored to a state of intrapsychic order (Guntrip 1971, pp. 92-101).

Having outlined some of the emotional complexities which the problem of spousal abuse involves, the question may be raised as to how object relations theory may be of benefit with this segment of the population. On the basis of his clinical experiences with abused women and the men who abuse them, Celani states:

I have found that the treatment of victims of abuse is more practical and effective than the treatment of the typical male abuser. Males are more likely than females to insist on being in control, dominant, and independent. Their fragile psyche results in a severe threat and intense anxiety at the prospect of acknowledging and admitting feelings of dependency. The male batterer is more apt to reject placing himself in a position of dependency on others, specifically the therapist, who would then be perceived as more powerful and knowledgeable than himself. Do do so would ignite unconscious memories of abuse that he suffered within his formative dependent relationships (Celani 1994, p. 179).

Therapeutic Difficulties and the Abusing Male

Given many of these fundamental factors Celani (1994) notes that it is particularly problematic to work with many male abusers who staunchly resist submitting to the fundamental requirements entailed in therapy, namely, specific time commitments, payment, regular appointments, responsibility for missed sessions, as well as the scrutiny of personal attitudes and behaviour. Any requirement that raises the risk of relinquishing control over another individual

could potentially be met with vehement opposition. Forced compliance as a result of a court order might well incite both conscious and unconscious rage toward the therapist and nullify any opportunity for a therapeutic alliance on which therapeutic progress is essential. Celani notes that under such constraints a male abuser may attempt to control the therapist through deception and deceit, in the same way that he had with his partner. In either case his goal might be to be released from what he interprets as a punitive measure that is externally imposed.

Therapeutic Difficulties and the Abused Female

On the basis of his clinical experience, then, Celani reports that female victims of abuse are generally more comfortable with feelings of dependency in comparison with their male counterpart. 'A dependent relationship is less demeaning or threatening to an abused female since she is familiar and comfortable with seeking the inner strength and support from others which she unconsciously lacks, but wrongly interprets as evidence of love and respect from her selected abuser' (1994, p. 169). To the extent that the family is identified as responsible for constructing the road which leads to abusive relationships, society paves it. Accordingly, various male behaviours that are sanctioned as *masculine* which, depending on the psychological history of the individual, may include violence toward others, and certain *feminine* attitudes and behaviours that women are socially induced to accept, may, given the same psychological reasons, provide the means through which an abusive relationship is enacted. In this sense it may be suggested that as a result of women's gender socialization the woman is more likely to be abused, as well as be in a better position to undergo individual therapy than her male abuser. It

is not that abused women are without serious emotional disturbances when compared with the male abuser. As has already been noted they may, and frequently do, share some of the same characteristics of the male abuser who is more apt to manifest symptoms indicative of a narcissistic personality disorder. According to Celani, however, her general comfort with expressing the need to be loved, ability to feel guilt, and a willingness to risk being in a dependent relationship, makes her a better potential candidate for individual psychotherapy than male abusers.

For the child who has been raised in an atmosphere where emotional needs were consistently and accurately responded to, it is reasoned that there will be a plethora of positive unconsciously internalized memories to use as a resource from which to explore the world without fear. The reverse is true for the battered woman. She will be unable to differentiate from her abusive partner because she does not have enough positive introjects to hold her ego structure together in the absence of this figure to which she attributes hope. Provided the unconscious hope she feels for her *bad object* can be transferred onto the *good object* of the therapist, one of the primary therapeutic objectives may be achieved, this being to gradually build on the positive qualities and relational experiences that occur in connection with the therapist which include such aspects as consistent support, honesty, reliability, interest, respect, to cite some. It is the introjection of these ego-nurturing qualities that constitutes the prerequisite for differentiation to occur. Through this process the woman will gradually shift her unmet dependency needs from her abuser, ironically because this is the only kind of object that, from an intrapsychic perspective, represents a composite prototype of her formative object-relationships, onto the

newly developing relationship with the therapist. The expectation is that her positive attachment to the emotionally nurturing therapist will gradually displace her previous negative attachment to what appeared a potentially exciting and yet frustrating abusive partner. While such an occurrence is a reasonable objective, numerous obstacles must also be appreciated. Some examples include the intense suspicion surrounding the therapist's *true* motives; the fear of exploitation which is experienced in association with an object on whom one depends; the mistaken unconscious transference that the therapist represents the equivalent of the original *bad object*; and the patient assuming the role of the protagonist by actively attempting to dominate, control, reject, and criticize the therapist in the same way that she was enslaved as a child, in an effort to defend against fears of persecution. Through the process of the patient slowly internalizing the various positive elements of her therapeutic alliance, her overwhelming dependency needs will be reduced. She will be expected to supplant her own deficient ego with the therapist's more integrated psychic structure which may be drawn upon as a source for approaching and resolving continuing difficulties she can expect to encounter. The battered woman comes from a world where argumentation, irrationality, and defensiveness have become a way of life. She brings this unconscious style of conflicting interpersonal relationships into the therapeutic setting, projects such feelings onto the therapist, which then have a constructive forum in which they can be worked through. She has had to explain repeatedly both to herself and to others why she has remained in a destructive, possibly life threatening, relationship despite wishes and efforts to persuade her otherwise. Such rationalizations must be strong enough to appear plausible to herself and others; consequently, it will be expected that she will strongly reject the many suggestions, insights, explanations, and general mode of thinking offered by the

therapist. The splitting defence that she initially adopted serves to maintain separate part-object images. The integration of a split object into a single, stable, consistent entity which is primarily good despite some frustrating or disappointing elements, and likewise, the ability of the woman to differentiate from her partner and establish a relationship which is mutually supportive rather than collusively destructive, is only possible provided the internalization of positive introjects occur through the therapeutic alliance. The goal of therapy is to facilitate sufficient ego integration on the part of the woman that she will be in a position to leave her abusive partner. We know that there are women who successfully leave their abusive partners, some through the help of therapy, others without. We can theorize that there will always be women in abusive relationships who are capable of differentiation, do not rely extensively on the splitting defence, have been able integrate part objects, and have internalized sufficient positive introjects. Accordingly, they have achieved enough psychological maturity to extract themselves and move beyond the damaging effects of another. The realization of differentiation, integration, and introjection are not a matter of either presence or absence; they are one of degree, the relative achievement of which will subsequently influence the extent to which satisfying intimate relations with others are likely.

Despite the more favourable therapeutic outlook for abused women than their male abusers there are several additional factors working against therapeutic success. The length of treatment, costs involved, responsibility of regular attendance, and commitment to remain in one geographic area for an extended period are some of the practical considerations that Celani reports have been problematic throughout his experience. These, in combination with the extensive use of the

splitting defence; widespread dependency needs; emotional inflammability to what is interpreted as criticism; impulsiveness with respect to the solving of problems; and aggressive attack of the therapist for challenging her belief structure surrounding interpersonal relations, collectively convey an image that although rather pessimistic, provides a more realistic understanding of the psychological complexity of a problem than has often been viewed by treatment modalities which omit the psychoanalytic contributions of object relations theory..

Jukes' Optimism For Men

Jukes (1993,1999) outlines cross cultural examples of the oppression of women by men to demonstrate how and why violence towards women by men exists and is perpetuated throughout the world. He emphasizes that sociological and anthropological research indicates that rather than frustration and aggression being an innate and invariable response pattern, it is something which is socially constructed and malleable. Thus, for Jukes, male violence is largely an unconsciously internalized, socially sanctioned, and culturally reinforced behaviour that is deemed acceptable within a variety of social contexts. Citing a number of case studies of men with impaired emotional histories, he develops the argument that such persons embrace a social structure through which the control and manipulation of women has been sustained throughout history. '... there is a seamless connection between individual men's rationalizations of abusive behaviour and the political ideology of sexism' (1999, p. vix). He presents further evidence to support the position that the general mistreatment of women by men, and more specifically, violence toward women by men, occupies a central place within the male psyche which is

nurtured by the prevailing patriarchal culture thereby adversely effecting the relationship between *all* men and women. ‘. . . that the men I work with, and they are apparently no different from other men, do not listen to their partners’ (p. 2). ‘. . . we are unable to recognize that women are people equal to us, with their minds and mental states, needs, wants and desires that are as important to them as are ours to us’ (p. 12). In contrast to the generally negative outlook of Celani (1994) regarding the prospects of therapeutic gains with males, Jukes (1999) exudes optimism and a favourable prognosis through group therapy wherein belief systems and defensive rationalizations are confronted and challenged from the perspectives and experiences of the participants as well as the facilitator. Using a feminist- informed cognitive/analytic behavioural model he encourages male consciousness raising about the extent to which men internalize socially constructed values and attitudes regarding women and their perceived position of inferiority in society. ‘A full account of individual violence and abuse needs to include a theory of motivation derived from attachment based on psychoanalytic thinking (including gender role learning and development), social learning theory, and a theory of the influence of the wider system of culture, its norms and values’ (p. 47). The extent of the reported success with which Jukes has had with male abusers may be noted from his statement that as a result of working from this therapeutic model the process of ‘. . . encouraging, initiating and monitoring change can become almost routine’ (p. 15).

Despite his general optimism about the prospects of arresting male abuse toward women through group therapy, Jukes (1999) does make a candid statement about a small segment of this population. Extrapolating from the clinical findings of both Celani and Jukes to the spontaneous

remarks and creative writings of a number of the male inmate students with whom I dealt and represents the topic of the next section about which I will be writing, I am inclined to say that while some might have been receptive and benefited from the initiatives and innovative approaches advocated by Jukes, there were others who typified the terminal attitudes experienced by each of these clinicians.

‘I have come across a minority who, whilst not in denial about their behaviour, feel no guilt, no confusion, no doubt whatsoever about either their behaviour or their integrity. In every case these men have been abused as children in a way which would now be classed as serious abuse and lead to statutory intervention. Their accounts are buttressed by almost impenetrable and articulated ideologies about gender and the appropriate role of men and women. . . . It would not be difficult to diagnose them as pre-psychotic authoritarian personalities. They share a legacy of brutal early experience with their parents and later with peers. It can be quite frightening and frustrating to be in the presence of such men, and on the whole they are not treatable within the paradigm outlined here’ (Jukes 1999, p. 57).

Object Relations and Spousal Abuse - Concluding Remarks

While generalizations beyond an object relations account of relationships distinguished by violence must be executed cautiously, such a paradigm provides a model for how relationships can develop and persist. The work of Fairbairn, which began in response to the initial ideas of Freud and subsequent amendments by Klein, serve as a basis for clarifying the routes through which different forms and degrees of pathology originate through our original interpersonal contacts. Such experiences are subsequently enacted through our relationships with others in ways which are congruent with our unconscious understanding of gender relations. The argument has been presented that disturbances in intimate relationships have less to do with women and men per se, and more about the emotional successes and failures that each boy and

girl achieves in association with the particular adult woman and man whose combined ministrations form the unconscious prototype for the kind of person and relationship that will be pursued, selected, and cultivated within the larger social structure.

Part 3

Youth Crime: Object Relations, Forensic Psychotherapy, Attachment Theory, and Qualitative Research

Précis

For a five year period commencing September 1995 to July 2000 I was employed by the Board of Education for the City of London, Ontario, Canada, to work as a Special Education teacher in a maximum security detention centre. This was a provincially owned and operated government correctional institution designed to accommodate approximately 450 inmates (400 males, 50 females), and thirty-five youths (thirty males, five females). The facility was identified as a detention centre, formerly termed a jail or prison, while a penitentiary, also referred to as a prison, was used exclusively for adults in conjunction with federal rather than provincial offences where sentences exceeded the provincial limit of two years. Although adults were called *inmates*, *prisoners* or simply *offenders* such terms were strictly forbidden for youths who were termed *young offenders*. (To facilitate comprehension the words *jail* and *prison*, and *inmate*, *prisoner*, and *young offender* will be used synonymously throughout).

Over the five year period I worked directly with approximately 500 young offenders (475 males and 25 females). In addition to the students who were enrolled in school I had limited daily contact with the remaining inmates living on the unit. The focus of my research was on identifying some of the probable reasons for how and why these youths came to be involved with the law. The major finding was that they had emotional backgrounds that were infused with a variety of familial and social relational stressors which made conformity to the law essentially

impossible. The data that was analysed comprised a combination of the experiences that transpired during the time that I worked at this facility, participant observations of inmate and guard-inmate relations, submitted written work from the students, ethnographic discussions with students and correctional staff, and formal educational and social histories of the students from educational and social agency authorities. Likewise, contributions from the object relations theories of Fairbairn, Winnicott, and Guntrip, attachment theory, in addition to contemporary research in the area of forensic psychotherapy, were used as the theoretical background from which to examine this qualitative data.

Ethics

The specific details of my research being linked to an academic institution was never disclosed to either the staff or inmates. Any questions that were raised about inquiries I would make were answered in terms of personal interest and professional growth. My answers were always honest, but not too detailed in any explanation that I would provide (Taylor and Bogdan 1998). Having become well acquainted with the emotional climate that prevailed within this institution sensitized me to the futility of attempting to gain official approval from correctional authorities to initiate or continue my research. Further, I was in the enviable position of being in contact with the students for several hours each day as a teacher, without the potential contaminating effects that the disclosure of a formal study could have had on the behaviour of either the guards or the inmates. Accordingly, I was able to acquire information and engage in experiences from a perspective within a setting that was largely unprecedented in this country. Working

undercover, so to speak, enabled me to penetrate an isolated and secure area within society through a genuine means, from which *qualitative* suggestions could be made regarding the understanding, prevention, and treatment of youth crime. An additional objective was the avoidance of any potential negative repercussion to the inmates as a result of my research (Hagan 1993). Due to the genuine nature of my position, the issue of deception which Erikson (1995) discusses as a potential source of violating the trust and goodwill of these or similar subjects in the future, was not a particular concern. At times, however, my situation became difficult when I would learn of information about which the inmates would openly discuss in my presence which consisted, for example, of crimes they were planning in the future, or had committed on the unit. This placed me in the moral dilemma of keeping information to myself, but risk knowing that I could potentially influence the occurrence or continuation of such events (Tunnell 1998), or disclose the information to which I was privy, but likely jeopardize the trust that I had established. In the end, I compromised. I informed the students that I would act upon any information that I had which would place one of my student's safety at risk. My goal was to make them aware that I would protect the safety of those who entrusted me with their experiences, attitudes, and in general, unrestricted presence.

Foreword

During the course of the five years that I spent with my students a number of consistent themes arose from the data that was collected and analysed. I was less than satisfied by the guards explanations for why these adolescents resorted to a life of crime which was essentially reduced

to the concordant sentiment 'Because they're fucking assholes.' The goal, then, was to look at the patterns that emerged from the data, and develop or apply a paradigm which seemed to best explain it. Thus, the study will unfold as follows: Section A: Youth Crime and Qualitative Research, *Literature Review*, Section B: Youth Crime and Qualitative Research, *Methodology*, Section C: Youth Crime and Qualitative Research, *Results*, and Section D: Youth Crime and Qualitative Research, *Discussion*. The section on *Methodology* is divided into six subheadings - I Setting, II Choice of Research Methodology, III Subjects, IV Data Collection, V Data Analysis, and VI Selected Data and Emerging Themes. The section on *Results* appears which begins with a summary of the field notes, followed by an interpretation of this information based on current and past research from forensic psychotherapy, attachment studies, and object relations theory. Under the section entitled *Discussion* I will raise various issues surrounding the prevention and treatment of the young offender.

Section A: Youth Crime and Qualitative Research, Literature Review

Adolescence and Antisocial Behaviour

Despite the fact that there is a significant correlation between various events during early development and the subsequent engagement in anti-social behaviour, Feldman (1977) notes that it is not uncommon for many youths to participate in such behaviour which generally peaks in the mid teens, and subsequently dissipates over time. During the course of development we are confronted with restrictions and requirements that impinge upon and frustrate behaviour in which

we would ideally like to partake. As noted in Part 2, the comfort and success with which an individual is able to live with this kind of conflict, will, from a distinctly relational object relations perspective, be largely the result of how successful parents are at meeting their children's relational needs. Despite this however, Wilson and Farquharson (1998) argue that given the wide range of delinquent behaviour, this being defined as the failure to meet the legal and moral requirements of the prevailing social order, such tendencies may be taken as an integral part of the maturational process. In particular, adolescence is frequently regarded as a period for experimentation, risk taking, testing limits, and participation in different forms of social rebellion. Nevertheless, while most adolescents will admit to having engaged in some form of delinquent activity or act, such behaviour is generally petty and episodic. 'Our present state of knowledge suggests that we should leave delinquents alone whenever possible and that we only intervene in the lives of those who persist in offending, particularly if this is of a violent nature' (Sheldrick 1985, p. 745). For a small minority, then, delinquency becomes chronic, often with extreme behaviour that is damaging to both themselves and others.

The Socialization of the Young Offender

From a social perspective, antisocial behaviour amongst youth may be further understood as the combined effects of the emotional transactions within the family (along with the attitudes that are held about such behaviour amongst its members), together with the social and cultural norms and values surrounding the use of violence by the respective members. 'Individuals are nurtured, socialized and induced into violent or victim roles by the family: the individual then performs or

condones the violent act and in turn creates, regulates and conforms to the family beliefs and meaning systems, and takes these into society' (Bentovim 1998, p. 111). Accordingly, criminal behaviour results from the individual being lured into the use of such behaviour as an acceptable response to pathological conditions. Bentovim further notes that criminal behaviour amongst youths is repeatedly associated with parents who: were neglectful, provided inadequate supervision, failed to exert discipline, lacked appropriate responsiveness to their children's antisocial acts, were inconsistent during their interactions, modelled antisocial behaviour, and in general represented a family environment of pronounced discord, conflict, abuse, and deviance, such that the opportunity to develop a self-regulating pattern of behaviour leading towards socially responsible positions, was seriously compromised (p.113).

Adolescent Crime and Attachment Theory

Bowlby's emphasis on the importance of early attachment on later behaviour has received considerable support from empirical studies involving the delinquent population. Deutsch and Erickson (1989), for example, found that undersocialized conduct-disordered adolescents had a marked disruption in their formative years with attachment experiences. Weber et al. (1992) report that conduct-disordered adolescents were emotionally detached in their interactions with others, displayed a weak desire to establish relationships, and in general were indifferent toward others. Brook et al. (1993) report that weak parent-child attachment was attributed as a significant factor contributing toward rebelliousness, drug use, lack of responsibility, and an intolerance for differences among people. Not surprisingly, Marcos et al. (1986) found that

drug use among adolescents was highly correlated with drug-using friends. Likewise, aggression, which included displays of anger, non-compliance, temper outbursts, and violence toward siblings, was established as a powerful predictor of poor parent-child attachment. Harlow's (1979) research on maternally deprived rhesus monkeys, produced, amongst other abnormalities, notably inappropriate aggressive behaviour. Other primate experiments beyond those of Harlow have also shown the immutability of aggressivity following developmental impairments. Kraemer and Clarke (1996) found that rhesus monkeys who were deprived of early parental contact and nurturing lost the capacity to modulate aggression, that is, they were unable to control their hostility within the boundaries where too little would jeopardize individual survival and too much would prevent successful cohabitation with their own species. Mammals are not born as self-assembled, independent units of operation. They require external guidance and support, without which the neural, social, and emotional regulation will break down into a pandemonium of disharmony amongst components that are meant to be complementary. Like the monkeys raised in isolation, mammals whose interconnected needs are impaired, can expect to exhibit varying degrees of behavioural anomalies that alienates them from both themselves and others. The central regulating functions of their core will be irregular and fragmented.

They are erratically, unpredictably, chaotically vicious. The condition is irremediable, even with the benefit of today's advanced neural pharmacopoeia. Isolation-reared monkeys do not conform to the usual neurobiological rules anymore than they conform to the usual social rules. . . It is unlikely that tinkering with increasingly specific pharmacological fixes of what seems to be a general disorganization of brain function will be successful (Kraemer 1996, p. 129).

In response to the critics who point out that it is one thing to seclude a monkey during development, while within the human species such drastic conditions are virtually unheard of.

Thus, to examine the impact of more subtle forms of bonding impairments, Andrews and Rosenblum (1994), Rosenblum and Andrews (1994), and Coplan et al. (1998) conducted a series of investigations which focussed on the effects of a mother's anxiety on the development of her child. Mothers and infants were placed in an environment in which there was either unrestricted access to an abundant food supply, or limitations, which included a lack of predictability around when, where, and how much food would be located. Although such variances actually heightened the intensity of the mother's searches, it also deteriorated the level of her parental care. The mother's magnified anxiety had the unwitting effect of instilling in these offspring an exaggerated degree of depression and anxious reactions to conditions that were not exhibited by the controls. Equally important, however, was that unlike the overwhelming harm that complete isolation was shown to have, these disturbances were comparatively minor, masking the damaging effects that can occur despite a mother's presence. In fact, when the monkeys were at her side, their behaviour appeared to be within normal limits, but when the two were separated, the *apparent* equilibrium dissolved. Further, the persistent inadvertent effects of early neglect could be seen in adulthood. These monkeys were timid, fearful, servile, and awkward in their attempts to establish relationships with their peers. In the same way that their mothers had been left with no choice but to respond to the conditions of their environment with accented apprehension and concern, as adults they too exhibited levels of depression, anxiety, and distress around social situations that could be called the animal counterpart of the multipurpose term reserved for humans - *neurotic*. While we may question the negative determinism of such statements, research of this kind does provide serious implications both in terms of the antecedents of such behaviours as aggression, anxiety,

depression, despair, and social maladjustment, an important awareness for clinicians who focus on the treatment of youth with personality profiles that are characterized by such symptoms (Feindler and Ecton 1986; Cullen 1992; Berg 1990; Weisinger 1985; Jaffe et al. 1992). It may also be reasoned that the more secure a child's parental attachments are, and by extension, their ties, commitment and involvement with their friends, school, and other social institutions, the more insulated they may be from criminality. In Sampson and Laub's (1990) follow-up study of two groups of children, both delinquent and non-delinquent, those who subsequently evidenced weak links to their occupation, spouse, and poor employment stability, were far more likely to be involved in criminal behaviour.

Violence, Youth, and Gender

Of the young offenders with whom I worked there was essentially no difference between males and females with respect to the kinds of crimes that had been committed, other than that the girls were reported by staff to engage in crimes that contained *more* elements of violence. Such statements are further supported by the Canadian Centre for Justice Statistics which reported that the number of young women between the ages of twelve and seventeen who were charged with violent crimes in Canada more than doubled between 1986 and 1994. In 1994, 4,903 young women were charged with violent crimes, up from 1,728 in 1986 with the vast majority of these charges involving assault (Duffy 1996). Statistics Canada (December 1999) also reported that the number of female youths (aged twelve-seventeen) who were charged specifically with violent crimes was 4,882 in 1994, 5,153 in 1995, 5,315 in 1996, 5,616 in 1997, and 5,652 in 1998. By

comparison the number of male youths this same age who were charged with violent crimes has *declined* marginally. Accordingly the numbers were 16,747 in 1994, 17,288 in 1995, 17,206 in 1996, 16,556 in 1997, and 16,493 in 1998. At least amongst the adolescent prison population for young offenders, then, it was females, not males, who were more likely to use violence when committing a criminal act. For this population it was both sexes that held in common the elements of hostility and aggression. This does not explain, however, the discrepancy between the number of males versus females who are incarcerated. While it is asserted that neither men nor women are innately violent, it is proposed that both are equally capable of violent behaviour. Nevertheless, social statistics strongly support that when the choice is made of how one responds to emotional distress, males and females generally respond differently. If men and women are both able to use violent behaviour as a means of response, why is it that men engage in such behaviour with greater frequency than women? Further, why do males outnumber females at a ratio of nine:one within the prison population (Adult Correctional Services in Canada 1983-1995)? Why do men outnumber women three:one on incidents of suicide in which violence is frequently involved (Dyck and Newman 1988)? And why are women diagnosed more often with anxiety and depression, and men with substance abuse and personality disorders which often include behavioural outbursts directed toward others (Cockerman 1989)?

Gender Socialization and the Mistreatment of Women and Children

There are a number of socially constructed assumptions that apply to the behaviour of males and females which, despite being shown to be false, retain a social reality that influence gender

socialization. For example, historically males have been thought to be inherently aggressive and independent while for females the characteristics of passivity and dependence were assumed (Condry and Condry 1976; Orbach and Eichenbaum 1983; Lorber 1994). Evidence which refutes the constitutional basis for such claims demonstrates how the arbitrary differences between the sexes are nurtured by the attitudes and beliefs of parents and society in general (MacKie 1987; Lott 1981; Maccoby 1994; Eccles et al. 2000; Bhabha 1995). Boys, for example, are encouraged and rewarded by parents, particularly fathers, for the ability to withstand physical pain and demonstrate feats of strength and toughness, and conversely are admonished for behaviour to the contrary (Stoneman et al. 1986). The interaction between fathers and sons is characterized by a greater degree of roughhousing and physical contact than with daughters where activities are more gentle and subdued (McDonald and Parke 1986). Girls unconsciously internalize the lesson that emotional upset expressed through aggressive behaviour characterizes masculinity rather than femininity, and that the alternatives available to them, namely crying and overt signs of sadness, are socially sanctioned as part of what is considered feminine. Boys are socialized within the family to internalize that aggression is equated with strength and masculinity which become established as part of the male identity. Likewise, girls are socialized to accept that qualities such as sensitivity, tenderness, passivity, and emotionality correspond with femininity and become part of female identity (Gilligan 1982). Additionally, there are significant differences in the way in which abusive experiences are processed by males and females. For example, Goldner et al. (1990), report that boys frequently attempt to defend themselves against various traumatic events by identifying with the abuser (aggressor), which may subsequently lead to the sexualizing and abusing of others. 'It is important to note that

whereas physical abuse and neglect is perpetuated by men and women, men and boys are responsible for 95 per cent of child sexual abuse. A significant number of such individuals have themselves been sexually, physically or emotionally abused, and an examination of the effects of abuse in the long term on boys may help understand the origin of victimizing behaviour' (Bentovim 1998, p. 296). It would seem that, for abused boys, the powerlessness which is associated with their own trauma-inducing events is often responded to aggressively in which the objective is to humiliate, control, master, and dominate another being, as they had been themselves, but could not prevent.

Dobash and Dobash (1979, 1997) point out that throughout history women and children have not only been used as objects to which men have directed their aggressive behaviour, but that such behaviour was often considered necessary and correct. They further note that there remains a generally accepted societal view that within families it is permissible to discipline children through corporal punishment; that violence may be used with those we love provided there is an objective to be achieved; and that more powerful people (adults) have the right to use force on less powerful people (children). Finally, they assert that there is an assumption by men (and women) that sex can, and is permitted to occur without consent; that persons in positions of power can demand sexual favours from those in less powerful positions, and that sex may be used as a means to an end. Within the context of this paper sexual violence has been used by men throughout history through which to vilify, control, and debase another in response to their own unconscious feelings of insecurity and impotence. The sexual exploitation of some women by some men is understood as the continuation of an unconscious enactment of earlier abuse

which has subsequently been channelled through socially sanctioned gendered alternatives. Unlike boys, girls are more inclined to assume a passive identification, see themselves as responsible for their abuse, punish themselves, and in general take on the role of the victim which they witnessed within their own homes, and for which numerous societal examples are available to direct and corroborate such a gender identity (Bentovim 1998, p. 296).

In his book *Guys, Gangs, & Girlfriend Abuse*, Mark Totten (2000) addresses the issue of abusive relationships amongst male adolescents who he terms *socially marginalised*. Approaching the topic of physical, sexual, and emotional violence toward the teenage girls with whom they had establish intimate relationships, Totten addresses the behaviour of male adolescent abuse from a qualitative perspective, criticizing the almost exclusive use of quantitative data of previous research from the reports of abused women. Instead, he relies on the analysis of intensive interviewing with male youth over a two year period. After an extensive series of initial screening interviews with the general adolescent population, Totten focussed specifically on thirty youths whose relationships with others were characterized by the variety of violent behaviour listed above, including gang affiliation. His findings reveal that most, though not all, of the participants had been beaten and emotionally abused, and witnessed their mothers beatings and emotional abuse, by a variety of father-figures. Most did not consider their own victimization by father-figures to be wrong. Virtually all of the boys who had witnessed their biological fathers abuse their mothers, reported that they considered these assaults to be justified and said that they were caused by their mother (Totten 2000, p. 180).

Totten notes that within the context of gender development, abusive behaviour was essentially perceived to be a legitimate means of ensuring that family members remained within patriarchally defined roles. In an effort to understand the trauma that surrounded them, these boys appeared to have assigned their biological father the status of the *ruler of the home*, and as such could beat and degrade their mothers if they failed to obey *the rules of the master* (p. 181). It is interesting that Totton did not find a similar perception to be extended to the non-biological father, wherein abuse that was directed toward the mother was felt to be unjustified and violence would frequently be used as a means of protection. Regardless, however, these boys also demonstrated an internalized patriarchal attitude and belief system which supported abuse against women (and children) for behaviour or thinking which conflicted with or otherwise jeopardized such a structure. It is important to mention that Totton did not find that all the subjects he studied adhered to a rigid set of patriarchal beliefs or overtly support physical abuse toward their girlfriends. Those who had been told by their fathers that female abuse was permissible, who witnessed abuse of their mothers, and who had been abused themselves, were much likely to use more extreme forms of violence against their partners. Alternatively, those who did not share such patriarchal ideology, were expressly told by their fathers not to abuse women, did not witness their fathers abuse their mothers, and had not been abused themselves, nevertheless became abusive, but engaged in less violent forms of abuse. For this latter group Totton reasons that the external agents of socialization through peer groups, the media, and sports play an important role in constructing masculinities conducive to abusive behaviour. It appeared that the more conflicted a youth felt over the security of his masculine identity within the family, the more he would attempt to compensate for this deficiency outside of the family.

Most characterized themselves as powerful, sexual, fighting machines. They spoke about being “King Shit” in a hierarchy of the powerless, a hierarchy made up of girls, gays, and ethno-racial minorities. When speaking about their masculine identities, therefore, none of the participants talked about personal feelings of inadequacy or failure regarding the difficulties they faced in acquiring material wealth and good jobs. However, when questioned about their lack of economic future, one-half of the participants broke down and cried. It was as if an emotional floodgate had opened (p. 184).

Object Relations Theory and Feminist Contributions to the use of Aggression

Some psychoanalytic theorists argue that the long standing historical evidence which reveals the exploitation, oppression, and abuse by men toward those who have been or are incapable of defending themselves, namely, women and children, illustrates the degree to which aggression is an innate part of the human species. Dinnerstein (1977) has argued that the degree of hostility that has been directed toward women by men throughout time, will not be eradicated by re-arranging societal practices and social structure, but must be understood in terms of the infant boy’s perception of the degree of maternal power over which he will often feel relationally impotent (Burak 1994, p. 99) Thus, any aggression that men direct toward women is understood to be an extension of the combination of our primitive hostile passions in conjunction with unresolved relational conflicts between a mother and her child (p. 101). Dinnerstein also notes that if the issue of conflict between women is even addressed by feminist writers who include object relations theory within their work, the tendency is to attribute such friction to patriarchy and social oppression, rather than in terms of the primary object relational struggles that are said to exist for all persons in combination with socially objectionable emotions (p. 103). Conversely, Benjamin’s *Bonds of Love* (1988), and Chodorow’s *Reproduction of Mothering* (1978) each

imply that any hostility that men may feel toward women is primarily due to the privileged emotional closeness that is permitted to be sustained between the positive relationship that endures between mothers and daughters, whereas boys are forced to sever such connections and define themselves in terms of 'what is female cannot be male', and the ensuing rage that such social requirements instill. However, Burak (1994) Sayers (1986) and Dinnerstein (1977) criticize these, and other similar accounts, for failing to include the importance of the inherent relational polarity that Klein, and to a lesser extent, Winnicott, claimed to exist within all persons toward internal and external objects: the pull between love and hate, envy and gratitude, destruction and reparation, and fear and projection, about which both sexes are required to work through in conjunction with each parent (Burack 1994, pp. 81-83). Such an omission is viewed as a distortion of significant portions of Klein's and Winnicott's views, 'in effect splitting the objectionable bad Klein from the acceptable good Winnicott' (Burak 1994, p. 105).

Rather than Sayers, Burack, and Dinnerstein being perceived as more accurate representatives of object relations theory, and Chodorow and Benjamin as spokespersons of distorted views, I would claim that the latter positions are more in keeping with the *Middle Group* of object relations theory, while the former are distinctly Kleinian. From this perspective, then, the unconscious attitudes that parents hold with respect to themselves as a man and woman will directly influence how they function individually, as a couple, and with their children. These attitudes will form the model with which each sex has to identify. Males are more likely than females to identify with attitudes and behaviour associated with aggression if this is what they observe and is expected of them. Further, I would hypothesize that aggressiveness may be

selected as an unconscious symbol of strength and power which can be used in an effort to defend against the despair and hopelessness that accompanies emotional pain and suffering, as well as conforming to the necessary behaviour for parental and societal acceptance. To the extent that society upholds such behaviour for the respect and admiration it is presumed to reflect, it is a collusive partner in the construction of an injurious behavioural response to emotional conflict. Although criminal behaviour and imprisonment contain a strong social stigma (Goffman 1963), many of these actions are nevertheless gender sanctioned in terms of what society includes within the arbitrary characteristics of masculine behaviour. While a man is clearly not required to break the law in order to affirm his place in society as a male, it seems that behaviour of this sort is selected by males more than females, even if they have similar emotional histories. Women, because of the parental attitudes and behaviour with which they have to identify and internalize, and the social norms and values that reinforce such views, do not have the same opportunity to use aggression as a defence. Aggression is understood as a defence that men use against depression which is associated with the more *feminine* qualities of passivity and perceived weakness. Here, only an illusion of safety is created through the exercising of power and control over other objects while at the same time conforming to society's designation of *masculine* behaviour. For women, the more common experience of depression may be experienced as a result of an acceptance of responsibility for the experiences that induced any feelings of hopelessness and despair - an emotional state which society has reserved more for women than men. In this way society provides men and women with different channels through which to express individual symptoms of emotional distress. The particular forms of expression that are unconsciously selected will reflect the need to cope with emotional

anguish which was instigated through primary object relations, and these choices will be influenced by the desire for masculine or feminine identity to remain intact. A comment that was frequently made by the staff with respect to the women at the prison where I worked was the extent to which they appeared completely devoid of any *feminine* characteristics. Such comments were not made, however, with respect to the *masculinity* of male prisoners. It is also reasoned that the greater incidence of anxiety, depression, and attempted suicide, on the part of women, and actual suicides, substance abuse, and personality disorders, on the part of men, reflect a different set of gender-sanctioned behavioural symptoms in response to early relational disturbances (for both sexes) which are characterized by various forms of emotional trauma and are subsequently acted out through gender-sanctioned behavioural symptoms.

Treatment Modalities

Biomedical approaches, diversion, early family intervention using cognitive-behavioural problem solving, role modelling, pro-social behavioural rehearsal, interpersonal problem solving, social learning, moral reasoning, structured peer reinforcement systems, and behavioural conditioning, among others, are included below.

The treatment literature for the criminal population is extensive and varied, given the wide range of crimes that result in incarceration. The following contains many of the more orthodox methods of treatment that have been used over the past two decades. I will be offering critical comments regarding many of these, and state at the outset that despite the many reported claims

for success, my own research with inmates, coupled with my understanding of psychological development and change, lead me to be highly sceptical of their findings, and is addressed in more detail under the section entitled *Discussion*. The issue of treatment and rehabilitation is far more complicated than the following research would suggest. If the results were so readily obtainable, I suspect that the prison population would be significantly diminished. It is not. However, the need to understand why people commit crimes, what is the best way to prevent their occurrence, and what treatment should be used with the offending population, remains an important social issue.

For biomedical treatments involving the use of drugs and dietary changes, Campbell et al. (1984) reported that hospitalized children between the ages of five and thirteen who were diagnosed with conduct disorders and were treated with lithium carbonate and haloperidol, showed improvement on a global measure of clinical judgement related to behaviour; and that 5,000 juveniles in ten prisons who were treated with food reduced in sucrose and additives and replaced with complex carbohydrate diets containing fruit and vegetables, yielded a reduction in misconduct and acts of aggression by twenty-one to fifty-four percent (Schoenthaler 1983).

Of seventy-four *diversion programs* in California that were intended to redirect deviant behaviour amongst youth through community projects, civic activities, tours of police and probationary departments and problem solving facilitation by a counsellor, an overall reduction of ten percent re-arrest rates was achieved with the highest levels of reduction being between thirty-three and fifty-six percent (Palmer and Lewis et al. 1980). Diversion therapy was also

found to result in up to twenty-nine percent reduction in recidivism, even when it was implemented by para professionals (university students) who received eight weeks of training in behavioural contracting, family- focussed behavioural treatment, and interpersonal relations (Davidson et al. 1987).

Treatment whose emphasis is on early intervention with families using cognitive-behavioural problem-solving skills, role modelling and pro-social behavioural-rehearsal report significant changes on measures of child behaviour at home and school following treatment of approximately fifty hours of therapy (Kazdin et al. 1987). Similarly, Barton et al. (1985) report that thirty *hard-core* delinquents, each with twenty offenses, who received functional family therapy had a recidivism rate of sixty percent versus ninety-three percent for those placed in group homes. Gordon et al. (1987) report that in a study involving fifty-five young offenders, twenty-seven of these who received family therapy appeared in court eleven percent as often, in addition to showing a decrease in the severity of offenses for which they were charged, versus sixty-seven percent of the remaining twenty-eight who received probation only.

Inmates who received treatment in pro-social modelling for attitude change and self-management training in behavioural skills demonstrated a twelve to twenty-five percent reduction in serious crimes three years after release versus those who were not treated (Wormith 1984). Ross and Fabiano (1985) report that treatment using a cognitive approach for high-risk offenders (rational self-analysis, self-control training, means-end reasoning, critical thinking, and interpersonal cognitive problem solving) produced results with an eighteen percent reconviction rate for

treated offenders and a zero percent re-incarceration rate versus seventy percent and thirty percent, respectively, for non-treated offenders, nine months after release. Walters and Mills (1980) report a seventy percent reduction in criminal conduct for youth who were released to work programs, 'provided they were prepared with specific behavioural skills and work related attitude, that the employers were well motivated to provide support; that the work was socially reinforcing, personally meaningful, and well supervised, and that significant others such as the courts, media, and schools, cooperated to the fullest' (p. 78).

Annis and Davis (1987) treated forty-five clients for alcoholism using a self-efficacy program for relapse prevention. Clients were instructed to examine the situations in their lives that would induce relapse and then develop confidence in their ability to cope with and manage those situations. After a six month follow-up dramatic reductions in drinking rates per week were reported, and twenty-nine percent of clients reported total abstinence. Stanton and Todd (1982) describes a family therapy program for heroin abusers which yielded seventeen to thirty percent more drug free days for the treatment group over the controls. Platt et al. (1980) treated incarcerated substance abusers using interpersonal problem-solving skills, family therapy, and group interactions. A two year follow-up evidenced seventeen percent fewer arrests among those treated versus their matched control group.

Three major psychological paradigm models for dealing specifically with violent offenders have influenced the development of numerous treatment programs that are considered highly effective. First, premised on the assumption that aggressive behaviour is a consequence of poor

psychological and social skills, a structural learning paradigm is used as the foundation for treatment. Therapeutic strategies are implemented that focus on teaching appropriate means of expressing anger through modelling, role playing, and transferring training techniques advocated by social learning theories of behaviour (Bandura, 1973). As examples, Goldstein et al. (1984), Goldstein (1986), and Goldstein and Glich (1994) report that the treatment literature on psychological skills training for aggressive youngsters 'provides persuasive recommendations for the continued development of these effective programs' (Goldstein 1986, pp. 103-13). Second is the view that 'the offender's thinking has been short-circuited developmentally' (Gendreau and Ross 1987, p. 388). Treatment occurs in the form of cognitive social learning perspectives, interpersonal cognitive problem solving, and moral reasoning. The implementation of these approaches for one group of violent offenders reported a drop in both the rate of recidivism and occurrence of violent offenses by approximately one third of the non-treated group (Samenow 1984). The third model emphasizes the need for structured treatment and discipline, peer reinforcement systems, fostering of prosocial relationships, and awareness of victims. The research of Agee (1984, 1986) reports that recidivism rates for very high-risk violent offenders receiving such treatment was significantly lower, thirty-three percent, versus offenders who were not treated.

In his review of thirty-two studies involving child molesters (Kelly 1982), 167 individuals were treated using behaviour conditioning. Follow-up periods ranged from two weeks to six years. Seventy-nine percent of the subjects reported reductions in the urge to molest children. Similarly, Abel et al. (1984) found that between seventy-nine to ninety-one percent of self-

referred sex offenders reported no further deviant activities at six and twelve month follow-up periods. Davidson (1984, cited in Gendreau and Ross 1987, p. 383), using a behaviourally oriented program for thirty-six convicted rapists, reported a recidivism rate that was one-fifth that of inmates who were not treated, five years after release. Giarretto (1982) asserts that only one percent of the hundreds of father-daughter incest cases that have undergone behavioural treatment have relapsed. Maletzky (1980) treated a total of 155 exhibitionists using primarily covert sensitization. Subjects were treated twice weekly for up to five months. What were termed *booster* sessions were provided at home for an additional year for those still experiencing the desire to engage in exhibitionistic behaviour. Maletzky reported that eighty-seven percent of his clients eliminated all exhibitionistic behaviours.

It is agreed generally that several behaviour modification or 'conditioning' therapies, such as covert sensitization, aversive conditioning, and satiation therapy, have been effective (in the treatment of sex offenders). Their effectiveness may be augmented when combined with sociosexual education, training in life skills, and assertive and cognitive training procedures. Incest cases apparently respond to family-system treatment methods (Gendreau and Ross 1987, p. 382).

Similarly, Schorsch et al. (1990) used behaviour therapy techniques in conjunction with psychodynamic theory in working with sex offenders and found that patients need not be primarily motivated to pursue therapy, and in fact could come into treatment under court order and still derive favourable results.

Employment Training

It has been suggested that adolescents for whom formal education poses significant difficulties

could benefit from exposure to information and skills related to specific practical training in order that they may secure formal employment and thereby reduce the need for crime (Anderson 1985; Johnson and Goldberg 1983; Goldstein and Glich 1994). The argument has also been made that it is not deviance that requires an explanation, as much as it is conformity to societal norms (Hirschi 1969). Accordingly, if there is an absence of social conditions which serve to satisfy certain basic needs, impose various constraints on individual behaviour, and promote certain choices over others, the opportunity for crime will increase. It is likely that particular social circumstances, which include unemployment and inadequate living conditions, facilitate criminal behaviour amongst a population that may subjectively experience their plight as warranting such extreme actions as a viable option to correct the perception of an unfair distribution of material resources and wealth (Young 1994, cited in Player 1998, pp. 85-86).

Treatment and the Issue of the Family

We know that efforts to treat seriously abused children within their own families run a high risk of recurrent physical and emotional abuse ranging between thirty and sixty percent (Bentovim 1998, p. 302). Returning such individuals to the same environment in which pathological relations were first established, will seriously compromise many of the therapeutic gains that are made (Goldstein et al. 1985). If, however, each member of the family is willing to examine their role and responsibility for the difficulties experienced by the abused, the potential for therapeutic change may exist (Bentovim and Davenport 1992). Conversely, if a family refuses to accept its involvement in contributing to the experiences that have lead to the victimization of one or more

of its members, it may be assessed that the treatment needs are best met by removing that individual from their immediate surroundings and reestablishing them in a comprehensive therapeutic environment. The entire focus of such settings is on the *rehabilitation* of its inhabitants, rather than imploring the use of detainment and control. Such efforts are proposed to include a common set of goals and orientation by all staff, including those not directly in contact with the residents (Bettelheim 1974). Straus and Kantor (1987) indicate that there is a three to five times greater risk of an individual who has been abused in childhood, of abusing their own child, compared to those who have not been abused. An interesting question to be asked is what are some of the factors that have enabled individuals to arrest and reverse their own abusive experiences? Egeland's (1988) research suggests that positive parenting may be extended to include the consistent and extended availability of a positive relationship with a nurturing adult during childhood, which could include a psychotherapeutic experience.

Deviance and the use of Therapeutic Communities:

1. Bruno Bettelheim and the Orthogenic School

Of the children who resided at Bettelheim's Orthogenic School, all had exhausted previous attempts at intervention and were considered completely hopeless by the authorities. It should be noted that although they were regarded as social pariahs, in the sense that neither their families, social agencies, or educational authorities had succeeded in achieving any conformity to conventional norms surrounding peer relations or general social conduct, their actions did not

require incarceration. Nevertheless, many of the principles and practices that were employed at this treatment facility shed some light on the process through which a severely disturbed population may achieve therapeutic gains. One of the fundamental conditions for a youth to be accepted into this school was their own personal choice to live and stay there. In the same way that they were invited for a preliminary tour of the premises prior to making the decision of whether it was a place where they would be willing to live, they were also free to leave at any time. Any locks that were installed were placed *outside* the doors to prevent unauthorized entrance from which the children had both a conscious and unconscious fear. What was restricted were the persons for whom visits were granted. Due to the deleterious effects following the reunion between a youth and certain family members, much discussion (which always included the child) surrounded when, if, and with whom visits would take place. In order for therapeutic efforts to be effective it was felt that *all* aspects of the student's day fell under the auspices of *therapeutic*. Thus, all employees at the school, together with the choice of furniture, decor, and architecture, collectively symbolized therapeutic components of an environment that was responsible for facilitating emotional growth and development. Results were not achieved quickly, and the age of admission was an important determinant in a favourable outcome. 'Much as we should like to be able to serve children younger than six - since the younger the child the better the chance for full recovery - we feel that we cannot administer nursery age and grade-school programs within the same milieu. Similarly, we do not accept children older than eleven or twelve, since it is desirable that they stay with us for at least three years before they begin to outgrow our program . . .' (Bettelheim 1955, p. 502).

2. Barbara Dockar-Drysdale and the Work of Winnicott

The work of Dockar-Drysdale (1991) uses object relations theory, in this case from the proposals of Winnicott, to show how positive gains may be made with severely emotionally deprived children and adolescents. From her work in residential settings which include the Mulberry Bush School and the Cotswold Community, Dockar-Drysdale has made significant contributions to the design and practise of child-care institutions with this population and for institutions that involve child-care in general. Staff are encouraged here to develop self-insight and establish an awareness of their own psychological functioning, frequently involving personal analysis, which is regarded as central to the therapeutic gains made by their charges. The delivery of therapy at the schools by the staff is viewed as essentially synonymous with a mother's primary preoccupation with her child. Such practises surpass the mechanics of the delivery of basic child-care in the form of hygiene, food, clothing, and shelter, with the expectation that the staff will become emotionally involved and connected rather than emotionally neutral and professionally objective, while at same time not collude with the issues in question. The majority of the youths with whom Dockar-Drysdale was involved were regarded as emotionally unintegrated, meaning that they were devoid of trust, and were accepted as having been severely emotionally deprived. In order for emotional growth to take place Dockar-Drysdale advocates for the provision of primary experience. This is premised on the idea that what was missing in the first years of life need to be relived and experienced in a symbolic form, following which the individual will have the emotional capacity to adapt to the norms, values, and expectations of the larger social order. The infant whose feeding was

repeatedly impinged upon by external interruptions will, for example, be encouraged as an adolescent to regress within a therapeutic relationship and make use of transitional objects to revisit and work through such primal disappointments. She emphasizes the importance of realizing that a person's view of external reality will be the mirror image of their intrapsychic reality which is based on their primary (and secondary) experiences through which their parents serve as the filter. Within this context, behavioural and emotional symptoms are understood as intolerable feelings that can not be contained, and are felt to have originated at the pre-verbal level (pp. 92-97). Dockar-Drysdale presents cases in which transitional objects are used in conjunction with a therapeutic alliance to contain previously uncontrollable anger. Through a secure environment in which an adolescent has a well developed bond and sense of trust in an adult, it is possible for the symbolism contained in different transitional objects, for example a piece of furniture or some other significant object, which represents an extension of that specialized figure, to be internalized and quell the need for violence (pp. 90-91).

3. Therapeutic Prisons

Further evidence of the potential for therapeutic gain for inmates comes from HMP Grendon, a specialist prison located in the United Kingdom that operates on the basis of a comprehensive therapeutic community for prisoners identified with personality disorders. Inmates are analysed for the complexity of the disturbances they manifest, with the specifics of their criminal acts being viewed as symptomatic indicators of underlying difficulties. An important criteria in the selection of potential candidates is the demonstration of a desire to change and the willingness

to participate in group work (Genders and Player 1995). Similarly, inmates could return to the general prison system at any time, or be sent back without consent (Taylor, 2000). In a study which examined the reconviction rates, within four years, of prisoners who went to Grendon (Marshall 1997), and subsequently, during seven years following release (Taylor 2000), the length of stay at Grendon (amount of therapy received) directly correlated with the percentage of reduction in reconviction rates. In both Marshall's (1997) and Taylor's (2000) study, inmates whose length of stay was at least eighteen months, had lower reconviction rates (between twenty and twenty-five percent less), than short-term stays. The evidence from this therapeutic institution supports the assertion that emotional change is neither achieved quickly, nor without significant commitment on the part of the patient. Last, prisoners who were released from Grendon directly into the community rather than returning to the general prison environment, had lower reconviction rates. It was surmised that the benefits gained from the therapeutic environment at Grendon was best utilized in an environment where the opportunity for emotional growth could be arranged and furthered, rather than the inevitable contaminants of the general prison culture. Gunn et al. (1978) compared therapeutic achievement in a conventional prison (Wormwood Scrubbs) with one where the entire design came under the influence of psychotherapeutic ideas (Grendon Underwood). 'In Grendon violence and conflict are channelled into therapeutic groups, thus to create very different structures of attitudes - in effect a different social defence system. At Wormwood Scrubbs psychotherapists are 'tacked on' to the traditional system' (Hinshelwood 1998, p. 472). While the comparative re-conviction rates for inmates at the two locations were inconclusive, the achievement of patient insight into behaviour and personality difficulties were generally poor and quite different at Wormwood

Scrubbs than at Grendon (Gunn et al. 1978, p. 147).

Section B: Youth Crime and Qualitative Research, Methodology

The Start of My Field Work

I Setting

In May, 1982, the Canadian federal government passed a law entitled *The Young Offenders Act* which replaced *The Juvenile Delinquents Act*. The intent behind the act was to recognize the need for youth to be treated differently from adults, and provide such youth with increased opportunities to obtain the necessary support and services they required to reform their lives and operate within the confines of the law. Due to the stipulation of the young offenders act, adults and youth were not permitted contact with one another at any time and were therefore housed in separate areas of the prison where I worked. Young Offenders (Y.O.'s) were locked in their cells approximately sixteen hours a day. They were scheduled to receive a change of clothing three times each week, a shower once a day, the choice of a haircut once a week for a nominal fee, and exposure to fresh air thirty minutes each day by means of a twenty by ten metre contained concrete area referred to as: *yard*. The walls were eight metres in height and were surrounded by razor wire. Basketball, walking, or merely standing and sitting were the primary activities. A restricted number of miscellaneous items could be purchased from a prison store list (canteen) which would then be delivered by correctional staff. Confectionary, magazines, writing supplies, puzzle books, games, health and beauty products, greeting cards, et cetera,

were items that could be purchased. Inmates could maintain a limited balance in a trust account that was used for individual store purchases. Upon admission each Y.O. was issued a standard set of clothing which included socks, underwear, shoes, trousers, shorts, sweater, T shirt, and towel. Their personal effects prior to incarceration were placed in storage until they were transferred or completed their sentence. Provided they were admitted from the street as opposed to another correctional facility, they were given a shower. They received a package which included soap, toothbrush and paste, deodorant, plastic cup, pencil, one envelope, and two pieces of writing paper. The bedding supplies they were issued included two sheets, one blanket, and a pillow and case.

Meals

Inmates received three meals a day and a late evening snack. The majority of meals contained at least one hot item and were nutritionally balanced according to Canada's Food Guide. Individual food trays were essentially the same as that provided by hospitals, the contents of which were consumed in their cells. Individual metal spoons were distributed, collected, and recounted by the staff for each meal. Lunches and dinners varied seven days a week but remained the same each day of the week. Breakfasts remained constant. The evening snack was delivered to each cell and consisted of a peanut-butter-and-jam sandwich, biscuits, piece of fruit, and milk.

Cells

Each cell measured one and a half by three and a half metres, housed two inmates, and contained a seatless stainless steel toilet, sink, aluminum mirror, and two single bed frames, one of metal and the other concrete with a wooden top. Three radio stations could be selected from a system whose power supply was centrally controlled by correctional officers. Mattresses and pillows were made of compressed cotton. The room was illuminated by two fluorescent tubes, each shielded by plexiglass. The ceiling light was turned off at night while the sink light remained on. Every cell had a window that looked onto a car park but was opaque and protected by metal bars. The door was made of solid steel and contained a viewing window measuring fifteen by thirty centimetres. The floor and walls were constructed of concrete.

Levels

The Y.O. unit operated on the principle of behaviour modification in which an incentive program in the form of *Level System Points* was established. A total of one-hundred points divided between four levels of meritorious behaviour entitled inmates to a graduated series of privileges. Thus, an inmate on level one would receive the most basic of entitlements whereas an inmate on level four could access such things as additional food through cooking classes, the opportunity to prepare, serve, and consume extra portions of the evening snack, serve meals, participate in a pizza, soft drink and crisp programme that operated on weekends, and select visitors beyond their immediate family.

Male Range

During the hours in which they were unlocked no inmate was permitted to remain in his cell. The area immediately outside the cells was referred to as *the range*, which was where inmates spent their days. There were two ranges for males, each accommodating approximately fifteen boys, and measured roughly fifteen square metres in which five wooden tables were cemented to a concrete floor. There was one set of barred windows that looked onto a car park. There were a total of sixteen cells (eight/eight) located around the perimeter of each range. At least one correctional officer sat on each range to monitor inmate behaviour. Each range had two telephones from which inmates could make collect outgoing calls only. Adjacent to each range was a shower room which had two stalls, two toilets, and one sink. Inmates could shower one at a time between the hours of 6:30 and 9 p.m.. Also adjoining the range was a room reserved for inmates who had obtained the highest level of merit points for good behaviour. The *level four room* provided these inmates with the opportunity to listen to a variety of music, watch television, or talk for extended periods on a telephone between the hours of 3 and 4 p.m. and 6:30 to 9 p.m..

Female Range

Male and female Y.O.'s were segregated with the exception of outdoor yard, gym, and school. Due to the relatively low number of female young offenders this unit was considerably smaller than that of the boys. Up to six girls were put into one cell that was roughly three times the size

of a boy's single cell. Sleeping accommodation was *bunk-bed* style with construction being of steel. Likewise, the provision and restriction of radio listening and television viewing paralleled the boys. The girl's range was approximately two square metres. Between the range and their cell was a toilet and single shower, the use of the latter being restricted to the evening. Due to a lack of accommodation the girls did not have access to a room with activities that rewarded meritorious behaviour. Lighting and windows in the girls unit was the same as the boys. (As of October, 1998, the young offender unit was restricted exclusively to males, with the female range being converted into a medical facility).

Segregation

Three segregation cells measuring one by three metres were maintained for inmates whose conduct was deemed a threat to themselves or others. A sink and a toilet of stainless steel and a concrete bed were in each cell. An observation window with a sliding door that was kept closed for selective viewing by staff, and a trap door *hatch* through which food or other small items could be passed was part of the main solid steel door. Stays in segregation ranged from a few hours to several weeks with forty-eight hours being the average. Some inmates would request protective custody in which they would spend their time either locked in segregation or their cell.

Staff Office

Immediately across a corridor from the locked confines of the young offender unit was a small office for correctional officers. A desk, computer, key vault, telephone, security camera, coffee pot, microwave oven, file cabinets, and chalk board on which the names of each young offender were recorded were the primary contents. As this was the only room specifically designated for staff it fulfilled as much a social function where staff would congregate despite the cramped quarters, in addition to exercising their administrative duties. A connecting room with a toilet and sink was also available for staff.

Punishment

Formal punishment for unacceptable behaviour in the form physical altercations, refusing an order, general attitude, or possession of contraband resulted in either loss of points and the level obtained, a behaviour report which involved being locked in ones cell without a mattress, or being sent to the segregation unit.

Recreation

Inmates were provided with the opportunity to attend physical education in a full size gymnasium each evening for one hour. A range of activities was organized by correctional staff, most involving a combination of stationary weights and team sports. The transfer of Y.O.'s from

the range to the gym or any other area off the unit required an escort by correctional staff.

Health Care

A health care unit was maintained between the hours of 7 a.m. and 11 p.m.. An attending physician came to the prison three mornings a week while the bulk of medical care was administered by nurses. Prior to being transferred to a different correctional institution every Y.O. was taken to the health care unit to voice any medical concerns.

Staff

Staff on the young offender unit totalled six, one assigned to each of the two ranges, one to distribute keys, lock and unlock doors, and record inmate movement in the form of court appearances, visits, health care, and transfers, one to admit and discharge young offenders, one assigned to miscellaneous duties, i.e., escorts for institutional transfers, visits, gym, health care, and additional monitoring of behaviour, and one as the operating manager or supervisor for the day. Staff worked according to a combination of either two or three, twelve or eight hour shifts.

Routine

The daily routine of each inmate included the following:

6:45 a.m. wake up call by an officer

stripping, folding, and stacking of all bed linen

7:15 a.m. breakfast (each Y.O. is individually unlocked to receive his/her breakfast and returns to their cell)

7:45 a.m. cells and range are washed/cleaned, one cell at a time

8:30 a.m. volunteers are given the opportunity for additional cleaning duties

9:00 a.m. unlocked for school or remain on the range

11:00 a.m. lunch (repeat of breakfast routine)

12-1:00 p.m. outside visits

1-3:00 p.m. unlocked for school or remain on the range

3-4:00 p.m. each range receives 30 minutes of yard

4:00 p.m. dinner (repeat of lunch routine)

5:30 p.m. unlock for gym

6:30-9:00 p.m. shower and range time

9:00 p.m. evening snack in the cell and lock-up

11:00 p.m. lights/radio out

Programs

Young offenders were provided with the opportunity to participate in a number of self-help programmes for which they also received merit points. Choices included Alcoholics Anonymous, anger management, employment skills, gym, laundry, cooking, and chapel.

Activities

During the hours of 9-11 a.m. and 1-3 p.m. inmates had the choice to either attend school or remain on the range and play cards. Television viewing, telephone use, and access to the level four rooms were not permitted during school hours, thus, there was a strong incentive for students to enrol in school.

Education

The school programme operated four hours each day between 9 and 11 a.m. and 1 and 3 p.m.. Core subjects in the disciplines of maths, English, history, geography, and physical and health education were available. The programme was staffed with three full-time teachers. There were two classrooms, each referred to as either the *outside* or *inside* classroom. These designate names were assigned according to the security of each location. For example, because the inside classroom was located adjacent to each young offender range but within the locked confines of the unit, it was considered more secure than the outside classroom. This classroom door was unlocked and generally remained open, was occupied by two teachers, and due to its relative proximity to each range, correctional staff could be summoned easily at the teacher's request. The outside classroom was located beyond the immediate boundaries of the young offender unit. It was located in an area that included related staff offices which included a social worker, psychologist, and administrative unit manager, and hence was deemed a security risk. Up to ten students and a teacher were escorted and locked in this room for the duration of the school day.

A telephone was available for the teacher to request that staff unlock the door at the end of each class or to escort disruptive students back to the range. This was my room.

II Choice of Research Methodology

On the understanding that qualitative research refers to the meanings, characteristics, metaphors, symbols, and descriptions of things (Berg 2001, p. 3) I concluded that my experiences at the prison could not be adequately expressed by numbers. I was interested in the *life-worlds* (Berg 2001 p. 10) of my students, their emotions, motivations, symbolic meanings, and various other subjective elements associated with their lives that the positivist empirical methodology borrowed from the natural sciences seemed less than satisfactory. Rather than use the scientific strategies of quantification over the more qualitatively oriented methods of sociology, I was operating within a setting where the opportunity existed to implement numerous *unobtrusive measures* (Klofas and Cutshall 1985) about directly observable elements of the lives of a secluded segment of society within a unique setting. Accordingly, in addition to the subjective aspects that interpretation of much of this data entailed, other elements were clearly objective. I established a variety of means through which to systematically acquire information that could then be independently analysed and subsequently understood within the context of current and past forensic and attachment research, and specific object relational theoretical perspectives. Such a process was felt to yield considerable insight into the cause, prevention, and amelioration of behaviour by the adolescent young offender which is personally and socially destructive.

III Subjects

Two divisions within correctional services were established for youth: phase one secure and open custody facilities for persons aged twelve - fifteen; and phase two secure and open custody facilities for those sixteen and seventeen years of age. My involvement was exclusively with phase two young offenders (commonly referred to as *Y.O.'s*), both male and female, who voluntarily enrolled in the school program with the expressed intent of continuing their formal secondary school education. The population with whom I worked were generally sent to other correctional institutions following their sentencing. Therefore, it was unusual for an inmate to complete their sentence at the detention centre. The length of stay varied from a few days to numerous months with four-six weeks being the average. An inmates length of sentence varied from less than a week to several years with four-six months being the norm. Criminal offenses also varied with the most common being a breach of probationary conditions, car theft, robbery, possession of stolen property, break and enter, assault, and charges related to narcotics, thus, the literature review which addressed treatment approaches included these specific forms of crime, among others.

Based on the formal records and reports provided by the staff at the prison, an estimated twenty percent of this population had never been in trouble with the law. Another thirty percent had been charged with at least one offence but had never been in custody. Another twenty percent had been in custody but for less than a month. The remaining thirty percent had been in custody a total of at least twelve months since their twelfth birthday. Although it was my initial intention

to focus exclusively on repeat or chronic offenders, the operationalization of this group became problematic for a reason that quickly became apparent. Many of the *first time* offenders with whom I developed a rapport, informed me of the numerous crimes they had committed in the past without being caught. In most cases this information was volunteered when they would share the details of the crimes which they had committed. In other cases they would simply provide me with an estimated number of indictable offences they had committed without being caught. The figures, while initially alarming, became predictable over time. The establishment of a habitual young offender, then, was complicated by this factor.

As a general statement, although my results pertain to the majority of inmates with whom I dealt, it is the chronic offender for whom they have a particular relevance. In addition to the previous crimes for which they had not been charged, a significant number of these offenders had an extensive history in phase I, phase II, or both. They had come up through the various channels of the correctional system, for which formal records began around the age of ten. Reports of petty crimes where a youth was returned to the custody of their guardian, gradually escalated to more serious offences which resulted in incarceration. It is noteworthy that by the time a young offender actually spent time in custody, the vast majority had been in contact with either a social service agency, law enforcement office, and educational administration, on at least six prior occasions. In most cases, then, they were quite familiar with the system of jurisprudence.

As part of the ethnographic process I attempted to abandoned the idea of absolute objectivity or scientific neutrality and attempted to merge myself into the culture in which I dwelled (Ellen

1984, p. 77). The central problem of *getting in* which Shaffir and Stebbins (1991) discuss as shared by the majority of field investigators, was something about which I was privileged to avoid. In some way my setting could be regarded as *elite* (Hertz and Imber 1993) given the highly restricted nature of the building. I felt that by attempting to maintain a facade of neutrality, I would be prevented from establishing a genuine rapport with the inmates, in addition to failing to examine my own cultural assumptions and personal background (Rubin and Rubin 1995).

There were certainly times when I would learn more about the backgrounds about the students than I cared to know (Berg et al. 1983). For example, the specifics about their crimes generally contained details about which I preferred to avoid queering as such information often had a souring effect on my ability to work closely with such individuals. At the same time it did provide some insight about how these individuals were likewise perceived and treated by others. Particularly problematic, however, was the degree of attachment that I felt for many of these youths, difficult because I quickly became aware of the contaminating effects and risks that their lives were in, given the attitudes and policies that governed the institution in which they were confined. This was not a *nine-to-five* job that stopped with exiting the building. The more one became aware of the details of these people's lives, and the institutional parameters in which they had to function, the more stressful it became. While the actual process of physically leaving each day was certainly more time consuming than most professional settings, given the numerous points of security and number of locked doors, it was the emotional disengagement from the relationships that I had established with many of the students that was among the most difficult

aspects with which to cope. As the patterns became clear over time I was increasingly troubled about the prospects of their future. They had become, as Carpenter et al. (1988) describe, *my kids*.

IV Data Collection

The data that was collected came from a variety of areas which, in a sense, represented a term originated by Campbell (1956) and Campbell and Fiske (1959), *triangulation*, but exceeded three modes of accumulation. Such multiple methodology was understood as a means of arriving at mutual confirmation of measures and validation of qualitatively derived results (Jick 1983; Leedy 1993; Mitchell 1986; Sohler 1988). Similarly, the dual theoretical perspectives of object relations and attachment theory were also employed to refine, broaden, and strengthen the link between this theoretical backdrop and the acquired research data (Borman et al. 1986; Frankfort-Nachmias and Nachmias 1996).

Within the symbolic interactional perspective outlined by Blumer (1969) of both qualitative research and the psychoanalytic process, the focus was on the subjective understandings and perceptions of the participants (inmates, guards, as well as myself) about the people, symbols, and objects within their world (Bogdan and Biklen 1992). To the extent that my research followed on the heels of, and includes the theoretical perspectives presented in parts I and II, the model that I used may be viewed as one of *Theory-Before-Research* (Nachmias and Nachmias 1992). However, at the same time it must be acknowledged that the *Research-Before-Theory*

model that is advocated by Merton (1968) was also used in conjunction with the former approach, such that the two models were used as a compatible combination with which qualitative progress was achieved (Berg 2001, p. 18).

Written information of approximately four hundred pieces from over one hundred students, was obtained in the form of journal and creative writing that my students would submit as part of the formal educational curriculum, or as a piece of work that they provided in anticipation of being published in an annual school anthology. Second, brief notes were kept on a weekly basis about the nature of the topics and details discussed between groups of inmates. Over time I acquired an *invisible* status (Stoddart 1986) due to the fact that I would not report any conversational content that could result in an inmate being reprimanded by correctional authorities, nor did I attempt to curtail the spontaneous choice of topic or direction with which the conversation went. Inmates were likewise informed that any and all written submissions would not be shared with correctional staff. Particularly poignant events that transpired between an inmate and a guard were likewise recorded. Similar to the *focus groups* discussed by Edmunds (1999) and Krueger (1994), my purpose was to learn from the students' discussions amongst themselves, about their conscious and unconscious psychological and socio-cultural characteristics (Berg 2001, p. 111). While there were times when I would sit with a group of students who were congregated around a table, for the most part, as with the informal interviewing that I would conduct, the participant observations of the focus groups while in the classroom were undertaken without preconceived questions, focus issues, or guidelines (Morgan 1989; 1997). Third, official documentary records (Bogdan and Biklen 1992) in the form of school histories were examined for any irregularities

with respect to behaviour or scholastic progress. Fourth, although I did not have direct access to the Child Welfare Agency records of these youths, weekly conversations with the unit social worker and psychologist provided some details about the family history of many of the youths, which was generally extensive. To a limited extent, then, this part of the data came from historical research in which the goal became one of examining events and combinations of events in order to construct the life history of a person(s) (Hamilton 1993). Some of this information came from primary sources in the form of official documents and records relating to the direct outcome of an event or experience (Salkind 1996), while other parts came from oral testimonies (Leedy 1999) from cases in which the psychologist or social worker had actually participated in a particular case, or had known of other colleagues who had. Fifth, specific experiences that transpired directly between myself and either the students or guards were written about in detail. Sixth, although a few correctional staff were quite helpful with answering the few questions that I would raise, for the most part these met with intense suspicion and I abandoned this as a viable means with which to gather information. The information that I did gather as a participant observer was done so with a conscious avoidance of following any formal script. Although I would certainly ask questions from time to time, for the most part I treated the collection of information much like a therapeutic analysis, in which the selected content and direction of the information being discussed, was initiated by the individual(s) themselves. I would refrain from asking direct questions until I felt that I had a sufficient rapport with a student that they did not consider such inquiries threatening, but rather were initiated out of genuine interest, which indeed they were.

Two sampling strategies were employed. The first, described by Babbie (1998) and Mutchnick and Berg (1996), is sometimes referred to as an *accidental or availability* sample. Given that I had had the good fortune to be placed in a restricted environment with an isolated segment of the population, the advantages of such a sampling method were obvious. The second was the technique of *purposive* sampling (Glassner et al. 1983), recognizing that the more traditional method of random sampling would not have adequately addressed this specific group of youth if applied amongst the general adolescent population.

The importance of establishing some form of filing system (Lofland and Lofland 1984) resulted in the use of separate file folders being kept for each of the respective sources of information. The data was collected and removed each day from the prison. Divisions were listed under the headings: Journal Writing, School Records, Mental Health Specialists, Guards and Inmates, Inmates and Inmates, and Personal Experiences with Guards and Inmates. Analytic conclusions evolved over time with several consistent, distinct, and overlapping themes emerging. Rather than the entire process being a consistent linear progression of a series of events, it more accurately entailed a forward spiral of continuous stops and starts in which the data was evaluated in the light of theory, and the theory was evaluated in the light of the data (Bynum and Thompson 1992; Levine 1985; Silverman 1999; Thornton and Voigt 1992). As Bailey (1996) claims, my field notes consisted of first, mental notes while the students or staff were physically present. Second, these were then transformed into point form records, and finally, once removed from the building, written in more complete form.

V Data Analysis

Of the three procedures discussed by Miles and Huberman (1994) for analyzing qualitative research, I primarily used an interpretative approach, followed by the orientation of social anthropology. My own theoretical preference for the relational perspective within psychoanalytic thought and supportive literature from attachment theory, certainly influenced the direction these interpretations took. The social anthropological approach came from having spent a considerable amount of time with the inmates in the confines of their restricted setting, and participating, albeit indirectly, in some of the activities that occupied their day. It must be said that the observations and events about which I recorded and discuss throughout this section, were restricted to the course of the day. Although I would receive verbal reports about behaviour that occurred outside of the hours of eight to four, I was rarely at the prison beyond these hours and therefore did not witness first hand, any events that were reported. My acceptance by the staff was restricted to these hours and I did not attempt to devise any strategies for extending them which would have likely alerted what became clear was their apparent suspicions, but may have broadened any generalizations that are made from the data.

The data was collected, examined, and then organized into several recurrent, although not mutually exclusive, themes. Such delineation was often difficult because the information gained from one of the above means applied to several themes simultaneously, nevertheless, for the purposes of research presentation I made the decision as to which theme the particular data seemed to represent best.

The data was analysed from a combination of: specific use of written and verbal language, the nature of the topics being discussed or written about, the familial details provided by mental health specialists (social worker, psychologist), the formal documentation by educational authorities which identified learning and/or behavioural difficulties in early years of school, and my own observational analysis of various specific events that occurred between the inmates and the guards, the inmates and myself, and myself and the guards. Since much of the data came from direct written documents and recorded verbal communications, a *content analysis* was used as a method for systematically and objectively identifying special characteristics contained in the messages (Holsti 1968, p. 608). The proposed themes or issues that were categorized were determined by a criteria of selection in which emphasis was placed on the explicit selection of language and phrases, the manifest and latent meaning of the text (Babbie 1998), the number of occurrences and importance assigned to various topics, and the general patterning of the emotions being expressed.

Given the limitations of the dissertation, selected data has been included which highlights the following themes that were evaluated to recurrently appear amongst the population of phase II young offenders: (Weltanschauung) 'A View of the Universe', Women and Physical Intimacy, Family Relationships, Prison Life - The Influences of Incarceration, Racism, Revenge/Empathy, Substance Abuse, Life and Death, Friends, Phantasy and Freedom, and Emotional Connections.

VI Selected Data and Emerging Themes

Theme: Weltanschauung - 'A View of the Universe'

'The World Today'

Look at all this shit! Nothing's worth anything and everything costs something. There's no such thing as friends anymore only acquaintances! And love is just a word used to get laid, and true love only happens in the movies! Crime is considered more of a hobby, and church is not a word in most people's vocabulary! High school is just another way to be under the control of the government for five years and it has literally become "HIGH SCHOOL" because most the kids smoke pot anyways! And it doesn't matter really because it's mostly who you know not what you know! We have change coming out of our ass! And they keep playing the same songs on the radio. Unprotected sex is considered more of an addiction! And there's nothing worth watching on T.V. Some young girls think it's cool to have a baby, and some parents could care less where their kids's are right now. Some parents choice of discipline is to beat you with a horse whip, wooden spoon, belt, shoe or anything within their reach! And the main thing is I work hard and there's still no food in my cupboard! This life is shit! Let's get a shotgun, why not die' (Female student 1996)!

The topic that I'm going to talk about is basically life. Ok I'll guess I'll start by saying that I've had it hard over the years. It's odviose or else I wouldn't be here right now. The way I look at life is that everyone is born and lives a long or a short life then you die. Everybody dies Physicaly but most are still here in memory. I feel that most of the people that end up here in jail. Why would anyone come to jail if they are not haunted by something or someone in there past or peresent lives. Alright I'll tell you this I've been in jail a lot basically since I was 15 and now I'm almost 18 thats 4 years wasted of my life because of stupidity plain stupidity. I'm really not sure why I keep coming back Its not like I like it here personally I hate it here. Althought I'm not going to deny the fact that I think It's a joke because I do. Only because I've been in the system for a long time. When peole sit in jail they have time to sit back and look at there life. Most people realize that what are they doing to themselves and others. Like I know that I'm putting my mom through a lot by me being here. First my brother then me. Well I realize that me being here harming not only me but my family as well. I've wasted most of my teenage years and its all out of stupidity. Teenage years are so-post to be the best years of our lives and mine I just throught them all away. I actually believe that after this time I'll learn how much life means to me and how much freedom means to me. I'm looking at 18 yo 24 months secure and just thinking about it makes me cry because I know that I can't do this much time but

I really don't have any choice. But I got myself into this and now I have to get myself out and that's what I'm trying to do. Well I'll be dropping this topic nice writing to you. Hope you enjoy my journal entry (Female student 1996).

'If I could change something about myself'

If I could change something about myself it would be my attitude. I find myself to quick to judge or condemn someone before I ever have the chance to get to know that person better. I say I judge someone to quick because if I hear or don't like someone looks or if I see the person do something that I think is dumb I've already judged that person as a loser before I even get to know this person better. I'd have to admit that I have a pretty poor attitude when it comes to people, because almost all the people that I've get to know me and open up to just end up fucking me over in the end but if I numb myself to my feelings the chances of ever feeling again are slim (Male student 1997).

Theme: Women and Physical Intimacy

Baby, Open up your legs I don't do fags
 Cuz its fuckin sick Why suck dick
 when ya gotta chick in the sac on top or on her back
 Spread them open wide Im goin in with pride
 So open up, Im goin in Boom, Boom, Boom I start with a grin
 on my face beads of sweat I slappin that ass like a pet
 don't yelp like a pup Cuz I just knocked you up
 Walk around and notice you have a nice bootie
 Get your attention and say "Come here cuttie"
 take you home instead of committing a crime
 you can spend the night but gotta be out on time
 Cuz to me your just another piece of ass
 I lost my virginity finally at last
 you call me up and start bitchin
 I just say whatever and go to tha kitchen
 I get some Ice cream and give it a lick
 all I want you to do is such my dick
 suck and suck untill I blow
 So don't yelp like a pup
 Cuz I just knocked you up
 I ask ya for the same thing and you pass
 Cuz your afraid another niggaz gonna play your ass.
 I sit at home after playin yaz

"who's babies are these" "yours TAZ"
 "Hell no, there is no proof" "The Kidz look like you goof"
 We can't be together and be a fuckin family
 too many kidz I sayz hastily
 take the kidz and pack up
 it's your fault you got knocked the fuck up (Song lyrics, male student 1997).

When I get out of jail I want to stop my criminal ways. I could do this by stay away from the same crowd I use to hang around. I know every where I go I'll meet up with people who just don't care but I'll have to try my hardest to stay away from them. I feel it would be easier to stay away from crime now because I just can't think about myself I'm going to have another person to think about soon. I'm also going to have to get myself together. I have to find a suitable place to live for me and my baby, I have to get on mothers allowance. When I get out of jail I'll be so happy. Hopefully I'll change for the best. I really don't want to come back ever again. Now lets see if I can actually stay away from here (Female student 1996).

Last night I found out my girlfriend might be having a baby. What should I do? I'm scared. Im in here she's out there. I have a lot of thoughts going threw my mind. I feel really helpless I don't know what to do. The hole thing that really get's me it's not my kid! I started going out with her 1 week befor I was arrested. The guy that got her pregnant is a Goof and I wan't to beat him but I can't because I will end up back in here. If she is pregnant she will need all the suport she can get. What if she want's to have an abortion? I am totly agaist abortions. What if she wan't to give the kid up for adoption. These are all the question going threw my mind. What should I say What should I do that is the main question. Bye for now (Male student 1997).

Hellow. Yesterday at court I got 15 months and it is better tahn what I was expecting a lot more time. I got to see my mother, girlfriend daughter and sister before and after I sentenced. I was really sad that I got that much time because My girlfriend's pregnant and I probably won't be there for a while to help out. I am going to try my hardest and succeed to become a better behaved adult (mature). I am going to stay on the highest level and try for a review and get a T.R. for when my new baby is born because that is a special time for me and my girlfriend to shair. I got letter yesterday and it had and ultra sound of my new child and it was neat because I could see the baby before it is born. From now on I am going to try and get my grades up and participate in more programs that will help me rehabilitate myself. Especialy anger management because I will need it doing this much time don't you thin? Well better sign off fro now Peace (Male student 1996)!!

I got a call from my ex and she said that she had child and it was mine. I was shook of course but I said that I would like to see her. It's a girl and her name is M. I made a speech request for her to come down and see me and talk to me about what was going to go on. When she came she brought M so that I can see her. She talked about things that I am going to do with M when I get out of jail. We also talk about giving up all my rights to her I said I don't know problem I will but now I'm having second thoughts about it. I'm in a fog that I can't understand and it feels really weird like I never felt before in my life (Male student 1996)

Theme: Family Relationships

This weekend my little sister is coming to visit me. Her name is K, she's sixteen and almost seventeen. She's taken to smoke drugs, recently I might add. She's kicked out of school, also recently. So far her life has gone downhill since I've been in jail. When I get out I'll get her straightened out. She's following in her big brother's steps (Male student 1996).

I got a letter from Michael which is my Uncle. He has been in jail for most of his life. I ask him where he was in. He did not no. I wanted to no for I can add words though mistakes but he said I will have to make those mistakes myself. My other uncle got out Monday July, 8/96 and I'm going to call him today. . . I will get my uncle to visit me. I'm going to send a letter to my Gramma in B.C. I got the addresses from Michael. I have seen my Gramma once in my life... My uncle Tim wants me to come and live with him and he said that he would take care of me but he is in and out of jail so I don't think he can but when I get out I will have no where to go so I will go to live with him. . . . (Male student 1996).

My hero is not some sports star or some movie star, but my father. I first met my father when I was fourteen. I got taken away from him by the Childrens Aid Society when I was 16 months old. They said he was irresponsible and an alcoholic and junkie and was unfit to look after me. That day in court when he lost me he went to the bar (after) and got so drunk he passed out naked on Spring Bank Drive. That was the last drink my father had. He moved up to Toronto and straightened out his life. He had to find new friends and a new lifestyle. He found a job and got some hobbies. He changed his lifestyle because of me. Until my father made sure I was okay he never had anymore kids. He is very wise and knowledgeable. What my father did is one of the most courageous things a man can do. That is why he is my hero (Male student 1997).

Dear Mom;

Hey how are you doing today? I am doing good I guess. So how's everything there? I am in school right now as you can see I am writing you on the computer. I am

doing real good in school here I am getting all my math work done and you know how much I hated math work but now I find it a lot easier to do now that I am thinking about my future and everything. I am really depressed now that J got busted because now when I get out he will be in jail and that's one I didn't want to happen. I am going to write J soon but I don't really know what to say to him. That's funny because me not knowing what to say is bad. It's just that I don't want to say the wrong thing to him because I know that I am going to say something bad because I told him if he got before I got out I would kick his \$&@*en ass. Anyways I talked to last night she's doing okay. Anyways I talked to C last night she's doing okay. Guess what I was reading the news paper and J made the London free press! ha ha ha!! It's funny but it is also sad he is taking after me in a lot of ways. I see myself all over again it's sad but it's true. Now I have to wait for him to get out before I can go east. We were planning to go when I got out but now the plan is to go when he gets out. But anyways I have to go cuz school is almost over so I let you go for now. Bye Bye...luv ya always. LOVE ALWAYS and FOREVER - YOUR SON Write Back A.S.A.P (Male student 1997).

Dear Mom,

How are you doing? I'm doing o.k I guess, except that I'm here again. I'm in here for a break-and-enter and I get sentenced on _____, December _____. I'm hoping that I get open custody, but don't worry I'm staying there this time because I'm almost 18 and if I keep screwing around I'll be in adult before I know it. Our lawyer, (AB), thinks he can get me open custody for this charge. I really hope so! So grandma M tells me that they want to deport you; well I hope not because I just lost grandma N so I don't need to lose you. I'm trying to get the guards here to let me make a special call to you but I don't know if they are going to let me. . .

I'm doing this letter on the computer because I'm in school right now so why not? Nobody has heard from uncle M in a while. I hope he's doing alright. Mom, I tried to live in Kitchener with uncle R but it's too hard just leaving all my friends behind and my girlfriend especially!

The reason I haven't written you until now is because I don't like writing you while you're inside. You know that. Well this will be the third Christmas in a row I have spent in jail. Of course it's nobody's fault but my own, but I'm definitely going to change this pattern starting as of now.

So I guess I'll say bye for now and I love you very much mom. Keep your head up and I'll pray for you every day.

MERRY CHRISTMAS MOM AND HAPPY NEW YEAR!

Love, your son (Male student 1996)

Well I'm pretty sick still and feeling tired. I didn't even want to get up this morning. I'm still on level 4 and doing meal cart at Lunch and Dinner but I was taken off of Jug

up because level 3's do it know.

My mother came to visit with my sister and I was so happy to see her. I'm pretty mad because they shipped my little brother (T) to Windsor jail. I don't understand why they would do that because he has about 16 days left and he lives in London. . . (Male student 1996)

My biggest problem is my dad because there is a lot of estupet things that he has done in his life that affects my life for example this one day he got arrested for fighting with my mom and when he got out my mom let him back in the house and and he had this crazy idea that he wanted to moved to Quebec he only though about it for two days and he talked to to my mom about and they desited to moved the same day so every Body had to get some clothing and we left all our stuff in kitchener and went to Quebec and that mest me up because i was doing good at school and that year I didn't get any credits because of that we were there for about 3 months and then we came with noten to kitchener again we came back because we found the language to lard and we didn't want to start all over again so we came back (Male student 1998).

Suddenly I found myself in a very big mess. My dad did not want me, and my mother thought I was a very bad kid. I got in a fight with my sister. I was 11 yrs old at the time. My mom called the police because I had put my fist through the wall and was freeking out. So the police came and took me too the hospital and I spent the night there. The next day I went to school. It was a norma day. I got called to the office. The principal said someone wanted to talk with me. It ended up it was a person from C.A.S. Childrens Aid Society. They said they were taking me away to a foster home. They already had my stuff packed. They took me away. I've been in a foster home until last year. When my dad decided to take me back. I hate him and my mom for what they did. But I don't understand why they did this to me. I can't wait until I'm 18 and can move out (Male student 1995).

This story is about a group of youths who have a fucked up child hood and the only way to get rid of the pain is too do crime. The crimes they do are Armed Robberies Break n Enters Car thefts and smash and Grabs. These Youths do crime for years untill they have enough money to set them on the right track in another Country. The Main Characters are a guy named R who is doing crime because his father died when he was eleven . . . His specialty is Break n Enters. The second is an ___yr old youth named S. Hes doing crime because he was neglected at the age a five. . . his specialty is car theft. The third guys name is R. hes a ___year old native who does crime for the money . . . his specialty is Break n Enter. Another youth in the gang is B who does crime because he gets a rush out of it . . . hes been doin crime since he's been ten . . . His specialty is gun connections

The story takes place in ___. It shows their life as kids comin from broken homes. The major event in the story is when the youths rob three banks on the same street within a on block radius. It ends by them getting in a chase, they get far enough from

the cops to split up two end up getting shot by the system and the other three make it they head to another part of the world (Europe). Based on a true story (Male student 1999).

Once A Pon a Time

Once a pon a time there was a boy born from a native womb givin up for adoption raised in a white family whent to a white school live in a white community. This boy was always the outcast the black sheep as people would say. Whenever something whent wrong the outsider was blamed.

As the years wore on and nothing changed this drove the young man corss like a dog that has been beaten. Finaly he started to retaliate and stick up for him self but of course he took this to far and the law started getting involved. Still his other halfe boiled with rage screaming for release. Just like a alarm clock ready to ring.

Finally it happend and he was taken out of his a dopted home and brought to london where he proceeded to rebel. What I am trhing to say is raceism has got to stop this is my story probably a store that unfortanateley lots of people have lived I am not trying to say that this is why I am in custody right now there fore blaming society no that is not the case the biggest problem in the world today in my eyes is raceism some people say that evreybody harbors raceist thoughts but we just have to keep them to our selves (Male student 1995).

Theme: Prison Life - The Influences of Incarceration

'Warrior Game'

Prison made life, prison made rules
 Steel bars and blades, are our prison made tools.
 Standing in groups out in the yard,
 Staring at each others eye's cold and hard.
 Waiting and wondering who'll move first,
 Violence and blood to quench our thirst.
 Who do we have, but just us to blame,
 Still we are playing our warrior game.
 Wanna be cops who just don't care,
 Everyone's anger, ready to flair.
 One dead, two wounded, all in one day,
 That's how it is, do you want to play?
 If you think your bad, you'll feel pain,
 And these are the rituals in our warrior game.
 Don't ask questions, not even why,
 Just hook up with someone who won't take it dry.
 Because if you don't,

You will lose in our warrior game (Male student 1998).

A.K.A. Gangsta

I give a thanks to a thugsta that was true to the game
 Made it to the top and got all the fame
 It all started out from selling rocks and cane
 Most of the thugs ain't the same
 Some sell rocks and cane
 Some of them aint even tru to the game
 Those are the ones that get checked out
 Because they don't even know what it's all about
 If your going to put me to the test
 You best wear a vest
 If you don't you'll look like a mess
 With four bullet holes in your chest
 Heres a key to the game
 Never show fear or shed a tear (Male student 1999).

A Thug In Jail

Why do people always step
 I'm tired of having to prove myself
 I'm tired of having to up hold my rep
 People don't know

I prove myself and they test me even more
 They force me so I have to do something
 Knock them out cold, They're having a seizure on the floor
 It's a code blue, someone call the doctor
 If they are to big I'll have to cup them
 I ain't losing, I don't care
 If it's unfair, I got to do something
 Because if you step on me I'll bust your face in
 This will be done without hesitation
 I am use to incarseration
 And who gives a fuck about segregation
 I'm the biggest thug and player you've ever met
 You've only seen me agitated, you haven't seen me mad yet
 People say I am quiet
 That is my front, I am silent
 Until you fuck with my shit, then I get crazy violent (Male student 1998).

Today this new guy from Bluewater trying to be a heavy on me so I say what ever

then he hits me with his cast over the nose and ye fuck I got a cut on my eye so we went at it for about 10 minutes he was turtled on his bed so I was giving him body shots in stead of the face so we wouldn't go to seg but it didn't work he's in seg and Im locked up becasue all the seg cells are full I didn't have no problems with noone until this goof come here trying to be a heavy on me I hope I don't go to seg becasue it sucks but if I do it's another day til my release date I got a black eye from a cast fuck that wucks one more to the collection of bruises . . . I hope I don't get sent to booth house or bluewater I got large enimies at both places. Im going straight when I get out this anit no life at all get my rade twelve it'll be work but it will be worth it in the long run a good job a wife fuck the wife money for a nice care a house I definitley going straight when I get out. I dind't even get to eat all my supper either (Male student 1999).

This place is like a crime convention. Everybody is here for a different crime. They like tell you how to steal a car. How to break into somewhere. It just like crime school. You leave with a degree in crime. I guess that's what they want, all the people that do crime together planning stuff (Male student 1996).

Today I thought I'd right about jail and how much I hate it. Actually, its more about things in the jail that I don't like. The first is the respect the guards have for the young offenders. They don't. Not once have I, anyways, been locked up after lock-up, even a minute and not once have I ever been unlocked early, not even a minute. They are so inconsiderate. On Saturday for example, we didn't even get out in the morning untill 9:30am. After luch we were unlocked at 2:15 when we were supposed to get out at one. In the evening we were released at 7:00, an hour late. I wish I could tell them assertively that this is my life and I'm out of my cell for only 8 hours a day. When they let us out later than that, it comes out of my 8 hours and that pisses me right off. I mean, they may have a "stressful" job, but don't take it out on the convicts. We depend on them to get our "freedom" for the day. I don't feel like complaining about it and losing points so I've just decided to right to you about it (Male student 1998).

Today things seem as good as they can be under these stupid conditions. The gaurds are more annoying than ever. My roommate is deing a kink and I just want the hell out of this fuckin hole. It's not that I am made or anything it's just the longer you sit in this place the more routine it gets. I thought if I kept myself busy time would go faster, well I'm on level 4, I go to rec. everyday I go to all sorts of programs lie A.A., Anger Managment, Employment Skills, Art class and school but time still drags on in this place. I give credit to guys who can stay here for 3 or 4 months and not go insane. I've been on level four 3 weeks now and even playing Sega is becoming a boring thing to do . . . (Male student 1996).

'Beats'

Last night there was a lot of noise coming from our range like people screaming and kicking there doors real hard. Almost everyone was doing it. Then the guards must have hit the code blue button because I would say about fifteen to twenty guards came down from upstairs. The guards came down and turned on all the lights, sent into the first cell (CD's) and I couldn't see but I heard D screaming alive! and I heard punches and they took him to seg upstairs. The guards went to very cell and told us if we don't shut-up we will get the same. J and I were lying down when they came in and one guy called us on and he had blood on his hands and there was knowway it would have been a fare fight even if we did want to fight the guards. Let me tell you if it was the outside I would have punched him in the jaw (Male student 1996).

'SCRAPS'

Yesterday ___ there was a bad boy fight. The day before that there was a new admit his name is SB. He is a know rat. I am not even living in London but he had rat me off for a break and enter. The charge ended up getting dropped but I was on bail for a year and from the breaches I got a years probations. When S came in I wanted to kick his ass. I guess that S signed statements against GC for beating someone in the cells. So G was pretty upset. So G went up to him said did you rat me out he said no and G punched him in the face and started working him over bad the guards had to call code blue cause there was not much they could do the only guards working in Y.O.A. was this small F guy and B I am glad G did cause it ment I didn't have to (Male student 1996).

I've first got in truble with the law when i was 12 years old and every since I've never been out.

My first charge was assault because i attacked some guy because he threatened my friend so i stabbed him in the chest with a box cutter. From then on I've been in and out of Detentions all over Ontario, from Belleville to Goderich to london. My lastest chages and convictions were my armed robbery's witch happend last ____. The store's what i robbed was the ontario milk, shell gas station, welcome convince's and the Beer store. i got a total sentence of 960 days 32 months pahse 1 but i have tons of other charge's after all my charges got finished i had a total sentence's of 1116 days's secure phase 2 because i was to hard to hadle in phase 1 so they got rid of me. Wehn i waled last ___ from ____. Since then I've been around the detentions, first Hamilton Barton, Blue Water and london (Male student 1996).

Theme: Racism

In the middle of the night, I was walking in my sleep dreaming of hanging niggers. Along came the K Bird and told me that there were 3 niggers in my back yard. So I

grabbed my 12 gauge and a box of shells and shot the first one in the face. The second one, I fired a crippling blow into the lower back. I dropped my gun for the third one and grabbed a length of rope, about 6 feet long. I methodically tied a nuse and started walking to my back yard where I found the K Bird pecking out the eye's of the nigger. I stomped the nigger unconscious than tightened the nuce around his neck. I waited until the nigger regained consciencesness than flung the other end of the rope over a branch in my tree all the while coldly chanting "Nigger, nigger die, die. Nigger, nigger fry, fry." I started pulling the end of the rope until the nigger was fully suspended in the air (Male student 1998).

'RAPS'

Rat a tat tat, got my hand on my gat
 All pull the fucking trigga nigga, were you at
 Its not about the money, its about the fame
 When Im looking at you Im scoping straight for your brain
 Im going insane
 From smoking the cane
 If you see a dead nigga, you know who to blame
 Because Im not tame
 And Im rolling with a gang
 Of killas if you know what I mean. . . (Male student 1999).

Theme: Revenge/Empathy

When I get out. . . I think I'm going to fuck up the bitch that ratted me out for kicking his ass, because he sold me bad weed. When I see this bitch that ratted me out I am going to beat him with a baseball bat, first I will take his fucking knees and smash them with the bat several times until he begs me to stop, then I will begin to kick him in the face until his face is covered in blood and is just one big bruise. After all that I might stop but I doubt it, then I just might as well break his fucking arms. After I'm done that I will take all of his dope and smoke it in one big joint. If I decide to take his money I will buy lots of beer with it. After I'm done that I will change my life around some what and make a lot of things better. I'm going to try to stop doing crime and stop beating on people for no apparent reason (Male student 1996).

I creep when you sleep, I'll run up in your crib
 cock back my glock and pistol whip your ass
 I'm thinking fucking fast and then your going to hear
 a blast
 Your going to be thinking your wife is going to be
 a widow, when you relize your going through
 the window

Then I'll fuck your wife and I ain;t going
to stop untill she drops, she's going to be
choking on my semen, cause by now
I'm seeing Mothafucking demons's (Male student 1999).

When I was younger I thought it was cool to hurt people but now that I am older there is no point it just get's me into a lot of trouble. I have a very bad temper and it does get me into trouble and over the last year I am realizing that I really need to control my temper. I think some of my anger comes from my past I have had a ruff time growing up. My dad left when I was 2 year's old I did however see him once that is when I was 11 years's old I started using crack, weed and other drug's. My mom died when I was 4 year's old so I never got to know her. I have had horrific abuse happen to me by family member's and people I did not know after my mom died until I was 10 year's old. When I was 12 year's old I was in and out of foster home's, group home's and in and out of jail.

I really and truly want to change my life I don't want to spend the rest of my living years's using drugs's, being in gang's, being raped, owing drug dealers money because I ripped them off and to scared to come outside knowing what they will do when they find me, having guy's beat on me, selling drug's. Doing what I know is going to harm and most important ending up dead because of drug's or someone who raped me and just lfet me there . . .

I don't want to keep on going on like this.

I still have the rest of my life to live and I am still young and i don't want to end up dead at the age 20 . . . (Female student 1997).

Theme: Substance Abuse

Well I am one for doing drugs and alcohol. I do more drugs than I drink alcohol. I first started drinking I'd say at the age of 13. The first time I was introduced to it by my mother on New Years Eve. I was first introduced to drugs at the age of about 8. But I didn't start doing drugs till the age of 12 maby. . . I smoke drugs like theres no tommorow and I'm stoned so much that when I'm not people think that I am. And when I drink I drink till I throgh up then I keep on drinking. If I'm not drunk I'm stoned and sometimes I'm both. But what I do to get drugs is crime and thats why I'm basically in here. Drugs brought me here this time. But mostly the reason is my angree problem (Female student 1996).

'The Party'

It all started on the day of jays birthday. We were siting around trying to thin of something to do for his birthday. finally we decided just to get some mushrooms and a bag of weed. After we sent out and got our supplies we wetn over to a buddys

house. He was happy to see us and we were happy to see him. He had a 60 pounder so we were like right on! The next thing we know theirs a knock at the door and 4 more of our friends show up loaded with party sulies! jays birthday turned into a big bas! Everybody through in some type of drug and we made a 30 paper reefer. It was fucking hughe! When we were finished smoking it we were all so baked we couldn't stand! So we sat and drank till we passed out (Male student 1998).

Well, its 9:20 am, and I'm in English class. I really wish I was on the outside right now so I could go and dink a "40" of whiskey and smoke a couple huge blunts for breakfast/supper. Drop a couple hits for lunch. I never thought I would go back to school and here I am, in school (in jail). This place really fuckin blows. I hate not being able to see grass or smoke . . . (Female student 1996).

Well it was the last day of school last year and me and a bunch of my buddies were getting ready to live it up. Ya know party have a good time smoke a little dub's. The regular things teenages do when the summer starts. Well one of my close buddies (we'll call him fuzzy) fuzzy comes to hang with us and he told us he had some wicked Magic Mushrooms, because he just got back from BC. I never did shrroms before but I thought "Hey they're natural. Why not try em" So we ate up a bit each and I'll tell ya I loved em. I got so fried, Anyways it made me feel like my whole body was jelly and I had this euporic sensation. It was wild plus I just couldn't stop laughing. Everyone at this party all did these kick ass B.C. shrooms and it was really funny watching everyone trip out. When ever anyone would ask me "hey F what are ya doing"? I'd answer "Just shroomin it" (Male student 1998).

One time when my brother L had a friend sleep over and my mom went to work at night from 10 pm till 7 am we got really drunk. It may not seem like anything big but it was. It was my first time ever getting drunk. I was 12 years old, and my brother and his friend J was 16 years old. J brought a 40 oz of 5 star wiskey over so when my mom was at work we started drinking. My brother thought it was really neat getting his 12 year old little brother drunk. The night went on. At first I was haveing a great time. I thought it was neat trying to stand up but I couldn't. It was all most like I had no control over myself. Well a few throu burning shots later I was on my ass and I couldn't move at all. My brother told me "don't worry its all part of drinking. Then I started to feel dizzy. I new what was happening cause I've seen my brother drink a lot before.

So I say to my brother "L help me to the washroom." He goes to me "you going to puke" I say "yep". He goes don't worry its all part of drinking. So I go to the bathroom huched over the lotet well my brother and J were guessing what food I would puke up. Well I puked, then I had to show my brother that I was not scared so I said "I don't remember eating that." L and J laughed and my brother said "don't worry its all part of drinking."

Ever since then me and my brother have been partying together. Im 16 now and he's

19 (Male student 1996).

Theme: Life and Death

‘Death And What I Think’

Well I’m really not sure on what I think about death but what I do know is what my beliefs are. My belief is that we already live in hell and if we survive it we go to heaven. I know that many people are afraid of death but there are many that are not. Me I’m not sure if I’m afraid of death but do know that I’d want to die in my sleep. Death is something that’s natural everyone is born the everyone dies. You live then die. Although death is very traumatic for most people it greatly affects the family members. Some people are more affected by it than others and end up having to get counselling. To me death is just something that happens to put someone out of their misery. When a person dies naturally it’s their time to go. And if the person dies by murder I feel that it’s not right. But death is going to continue and there’s nothing we can do. You have to take a life to bring a life. If we didn’t take lives we’d be way over populated (Female student 1996).

I was rolling around in my bed trying to find a comfortable position. Sweating like a lazy pig, I sprang out of my bed, curious about this sound I have just heard. It sounded like a beating of a drum or the beating of a furious heart just waiting to burst. I slowly crept along the floor thinking of what I might run into, trying not to make a sound. I listened very carefully to where that unearthly sound was coming from. “The basement” I whispered yet thought I had screamed. I slowly walked to the basement door stopping every few steps just to listen to that chilling sound. The doornob to the stairway to death was just a frightening arm’s length. As I stretched my arm out a horrifying thought of what I might run into sent chills down my back as I took step back, the sound stopped, and the door burst open standing there paralyzed, trying to scream and run for my life, no sound or movement came to me. Just seconds away from my brutal death (Male student 1998)

I would live in heaven because I would be in total happiness and all the food would taste good and it would be different by far compared to every place on earth. There would be no war or fighting and poverty. And I could probably get to choose who I would be hanging around and I could be with people that I got along with all the time so I wouldn’t have to think and plan evil things about them and there would be a calmness all the time and no one would have to do crime because you would have everything that you need (Male student 1998).

Theme: Friends

After breakfast I got three letters from my boyfriend. He’s in adult jail right now but

he'll be out before me... He gets released May 13th. I'll be so happy to finally be able to hear his voice instead of reading his words all the time. Hopefully he means what he says and he keeps himself out of trouble so that when I get out we can leave our life of crime behind us and start over with a more productive lifestyle (Female student 1996).

'The Worst thing that ever happened to me'

The day was January 19 and my friends had just informed me of a score they had pulled of where they got fifty-four sixty pounders of whiskey. We all got together at my apartment and drank a few of the sixties, and I had also taken some acid, then when everyone was starting to leave, my friend and I decided to take a walk downtown. It was about 10:00pm when we left and we went into a couple of places and made a bit of a scene (Male student 1996).

B and I go back about three or four years. I think the first time that I meted him was at a school lunch time we use to go to his house and sit in his garage the whole lunch hour and smoke up with about ten people and we did the same after school. One time when everyone had just left B and I went into the house and I looked out his bedroom window cause we were kicked out of school by then and the police went in the garage and searched it the didn't find anything except for toke bottles and pins stuff like that. We didn't sell drugs we just smoked it then. Then we both got kicked out of our house for not being home barley ever so we lived in his garage his mom said it was alright. B was on the run cause when he got kicked out his mom cancelled bail. I found a pound of weed just then and three pounds of leaf with this guy T so he started staying in the garage a lot. So we sold over half of that and partyed for a good two months. Then we were broke again so we started doing burns after B did a little bot of time and I moved back home and thats what got me here (Male student 1996).

Probably 1 and a ½ years ago I was with some friends and we were largely jonsen. We had no money and we couldn't get a spot. So we decided that the cheapest high was to go to the store and steal tons of "Gravel". So my friends K, F, M, and J ate 20-25 gravel pills each. An hour later they took me home and dropped me off . . . (Female student 1997).

My biggest problem is staying out of trouble. I don't know why I can stay out of trouble. I guesse I like the rush it gives. Also I think it is because of the probation I've been on since I was twelve. My friends are always wanting me to do a crime with them. Either B, E or a smash and grab. I always do it because of money, I love money you can do anything if you have money. I always am spending my money to get high. I'll will do anything but shoot needles. I'm not adicted to anything. I just can't say no to my friends. People say thier not your friends if they ask you to do a

crime with them. But they are my friends because they ask me if I want to do the crime because they know I'm hard up for cash, if I say "No" they respect my answer and don't ask me again. Sometimes I think I'm not a good friend because I say no. But in the end when they get caught. I'm the one who is sorry because I never stoped them when I could have. When I get out I'm not going to get into any more trouble (Male student 1995).

Questioned Love

How will I know, if you love me so?
How will I know, that your not the average "joe"?

How will I know, that what you feel is rea?
How will I know, its my heart you want to steal.

How will I know, if I'm doing things right?
How will I know, if you will be there everynight?

How will I know, you will never deceive me?
How will I know, you will never beat me?

How will I know, if hwat we are is good?
How will I know, you will treat me like you should?

How will I know, everything will be fine?
How will I know, you will always be mine? (Female student 1996).

Theme: Phantasy and Freedom

If I was invisible for a day I would kill all cops, rob banks, kill diddlers and rats, and motesters. If I was in jail I would walk out break inta houses and steal some gold (Male student 1999).

if no one could see me I would Rob all the banks in the world, I would take free trips around the world, to spi on people; I would Rip off the Drugys when they come in; get people out of jail by gettin the keys and lettin them out; opening all the doors for them; I would play joke's on people like when they go to sit down pull the sit from underneath him/her and wash him fall I would help my friends out in hard class test; and help them get better marks by changin the teachers book of marks; I would also slapp people because tehy could not see me turn up T.V. run water! Start rightin a letter when there lookin turn on stove, unplug everthing I would hit all the lights of; lock all the doors so they him/her could not get out; I would make someone Robb a Store, so he/she gets in shit; I would kill all the P.C. in Jail or make some one do it; I

would run over all the pigs with a big 2 by 4 (Female student 1998).

Where I would rather be

If i had the choice I would be with my girl friend on an island with fields and fields of pot plants all a round the island. I would have a great big house with seventy five rooms and in the basement there is an underground walkway that would be leading to a big barn that would be filled with all kinds of bear,wine,rum,gin, and all kinds of drugs. The ocean would be a light blue and the land would be filled with trees and all kinds of animals. If I had it my way I would stay there for the rest of my long life and I would have lots of kids girls and boys. There would be all the swimsuit issue woman the would be running around in there skimpy bathing suits. I would sant to be there rather then here because I would have the freedom to go and do as I please and not have to be bossed around or told when to go to bed and when to eat seleep and piss. On my island I would be the one with the keys (Mael student 1996).

My vaverit Film

My vaverit movie would Have to be (BLOODSPORT) Becaus of all the different kind's of fighting like (Kung fu) and (Tie boxing) and (Jujitsu) I don't rely like Van Dam but the movie itself showed of a lote of different fighting style's from all over The world Bloodsport had verry real fight seen's lots of Blood and that is what I like (Male student 1997).

An Ideal Vacation

An Ideal Vacation to me would be pulling off an 83 thousand dollar score then stealing a nice Cavalier Z24 crossing the border through Niagara falls switching licence plates so I don't get pulled over I would drive to Orlando Florida and ditch the stolen Vehicle and rent a car so I can drive around legit. I would rent a hotel in Disney land and chill there for a 3 weeks to a month After that period of time I would fly back to Hamilton and thats my idea of an ideal Vacation (Male student 1997).

My favoret move was call blood in blood out. It was about a hafte white hafe sanish teenager trying to get himself into a L.A. gang called The votos locals. When he makes it he windes up killing someone in a gang call the five little pountos. He ends up in the penatechrie and becomes a spiy for the hispanic group. He learns how to live and repsect the inmates and also deal with race beteen white and hispanic. He also had to kill a member of the wites apemencie. He had disoned his cousin for becoming a cop. . . (Male student 1997).

My Dream Room

My dream room would be on the twentieth floor of a pent house apartment, over looking the ocean down in Florida . . .

There would be a huge bar that had every kind of booze that you could think of There also would be a big beer fridge that would always be filled with my favroite brands of beer.

There would be a big secrete spot in my wall that would be used to stash my lifetime supply of marijuana that comes with the room I would have hoom service to wait on my for my every need . . . (Male student 1998).

My goal in Life - 5 years from now

My goal in life is to become Canadas most wanted . . Five years from now Im hoping I'll have reached my goal. Five years I'll be sitting in Millhaven Maximum Penitentiary awaiting my classification to another Institution to begin doing my time . . . (Male student 1998).

Things to do when I actually get out!

- 1/ Fuck my girl
- 2/ comeback and get money
- 3/ Buy a keg 36 litre
- 4/ bag of herbs
- 5/ Fuck my girl again
- 6/ Kiss my daughter
- 7/ take her to my parents
- 8/ Pick up my Klein and Rocky mountain mongoose bikes
- 10/ pay best boy back (Male student 2000).

Today I think I'll write about my release date (which is in 3 days) and what i want to do when I get out. On ____ I will be released from this shithole. I should be getting released Sunday morning at around 7:00 a.m. My mom should be here to pick me up. My brother and my friend P will be coming with her, and we plan to take her out for breakfast since it will be Mther's Day but we plan to sneak off somewhere and puff a few nice fatties . . . I want to crank up my stereo and listen to some fuckin crazy shit lie the Red Hot Chilipeppers, Marilyn Manson, Rage Against the Machine among other bads. After that I plan to get baked out of my head and drunk out of my face and whatever happens after that, happens (Male student 1996).

When I get out I am going to party until the fat lady kills over and die with R and my friends and his friends. After the party R and I are going to Blondes the strip club in London ONT and ater that well i cant really say but it involves women and a

waterbed. On ___ my came to ___ he was hear for assaulting some kid on the street near "Pizza Pizza". Today he is going to get out on bail and go home. I hope he stays out of trouble but that isn't going to happen. Because he hangs around certain people that gets him in trouble. I hope he learned his lesson not to punch out "rats". When I get out of jail I'm going to try to save up some money and go down to the Barbados with R. Because he has family down there and it would be allot cheaper thin paying for a hotel. R and I are probably going to be down there for a cuple of weeks. When I save up some more money R and I wont to move to ___ because we are sick of London it's starting to be boring know. That and his old lady lives there and he doesn't like long-distents relations ships and that I hope to fined a better women then the ones in hear in London (Male student 1998).

Doing Time

When I get out I am rially going to trie to chang I am going to chng my atmisfere and move back with my mom in Toronto and go back to a mormel and get a part time job hopefully then I can rely stay out of troubel and get new peres to hang out with becaues doing time I don't thinck is the saloson to your probalum all you do in jail is sit thaer ans wack tv and hear peapel say oh hwen I get out I going to steal this and o this and just hearing all that you won't to star't agan they shoud have some kind of place ware you code go and all it is it like you go to school and get consaling all the time so you can get rehabilitated for poepel that realy do won't to help the self (Male student 1998).

The way I would spend my time (*when I get out*) I would use it in a constructive manner. With my boy L choose him because I know hes safe. The events we would do would be scores that make lots of money - houses, smashe and Grabs. We like to do our crime all year around B n E's during the day cause everyones at school or working. Smash and Grabs at night because stores are closed How I would do this would be by driving around in a Doge Caravan Black tinted Windows with all the back seats taken out untill I find a suitable thing to steal (Male student 1999).

Theme: Emotional Connections

To Scott I would like to thank-you for giving me this appertunity of letting my do my credit in my cell while the strike was on considering that I was only in school for a week and my first day I didn't treat you with any respect at all. No offense or anything but I hope that I never see you again. THANKS AGAIN (Male student 1996).

Too Scott,

I hope you got tanked for the New Years! I'll be upstairs (*adult unit*) if you want to stop buy. Thanks for the magazines, I appreciate it. Hope you had a good christmas

(I never got tanked). Heres a little present from me cause I know you're a little outta date (Ha Ha).

You're a good man Scott and I hope you get tanked soon. Adios Amigo!

From your respected student, BJ (Male student 2000).

Section C: Youth Crime and Qualitative Research, Results

Within quantitative research reports the *findings* or *results* section often uses these two terms synonymously, although in fact, there is a slight distinction between them. *Findings* quite literally refer to what the data say, whereas *results* offer interpretations of the meaning of the data. In short, results offer an analysis of the data (Berg 2001, p. 276), hence, as the following remarks represent a qualitative analysis of the data that was collected over the five year period, I include them under the heading *Results*. In addition to offering various interpretations about the themes which developed from the data presented above, I include areas that evolved from other sources and information that was obtained.

Weltanschauung - 'A View of the Universe'

Although the child is capable of sensing fear and experiencing distress, it needs its mother's response and attention to help learn how to gauge its own internal states and thoughts about the world around it. She will serve as a mirror that will interpret and reflect its own inner feelings. Their anxiety may be heightened and panic ensured, or dissipated and harmony restored, all on the basis of her interpretation and attitude about him or her. The effect of a mother's emotional response on her infant was clearly demonstrated in an experiment (Emde

1983) that Lewis et al. (2000) refers to as the *visual cliff*. A baby is placed on a counter top where one half appears solid while the other half (also solid) is constructed of clear Plexiglass. From the infant's perspective it reaches an abyss when it crawls up to the point of the Plexiglass since it seems to be in danger of falling. Here the baby faces an ambiguous threat in the form of (a) the transparent plastic suggests a visual cue of potential danger, and (b) the solid material on which it rests reflects a condition of safety. How does it make sense of such a predicament? When it reaches the edge it turns to its mother and determines the severity of the situation on the basis of her reaction to his or her actions. If she radiates calm and reassurance, it continues crawling. If it finds alarm on her face, it stops and cries. The mother unknowingly provides universal signals of emotion that teach her child (also unknowingly) about the world around it. We may further reason that infants do not merely interpret their mother's reflected appraisals of them when ambiguity threatens, they continually monitor her expressions in general. I have demonstrated that infants have an innate rudimentary desire and capacity to relate to other objects, to which may be added their fascination with people's faces. They will stare at faces longer than any other single object, and more specifically, will respond favourably to their mother's face and voice more than any other, and even with someone speaking in her (their mother's) native language versus one that is foreign (Trevvarthen 1993). As important as it is for the child to know of its mother's positive reflected emotional states that will then be used as a reliable compass for navigating the world, its examinations of the mother are not restricted to moments when ambiguity threatens. Babies constantly monitor their mother's expressions. In an experiment demonstrating the importance of continuous feedback of a mother's body language,

Trevarthen (1993), arranged through the use of close-circuit monitors for mothers and infants to view one another. Mother and child were quite content to continue to look at one another, smile, laugh and talk via this means, however, the moment the mother's image was frozen, though still visible, the child became upset. It was not the mother's visual presence per se that was important, but the ongoing relational exchange that the child required.

It is argued that the students with whom I worked *implicitly learned* from their experiences in life that the world was a dangerous and threatening place to be. Their circumstances in life were such that they had not constructed an emotional house in which they were secure. They were anxious, angry, confused, and out of control.

Women and Physical Intimacy

Many of the conversations with my inmate students supported Celani's assertions that the typical male abuser constructs a world in which he makes and enforces the rules that govern the behaviour of those around him. His dependency needs are met by demanding and controlling the actions of his partner which frequently entail violence. The theme of domination, control, and injury prevailed throughout the sexualized comments made by many of the male students about the opposite sex. Within Freud's developmental scheme they had reached sexual maturity in that the culmination of their intimate relations with the opposite sex focussed upon genital union. Fairbairn's reasoning, however, would suggest that their intense desire for sexual intercourse which consistently superceded any true desire for

emotional intimacy and mutuality, reflected a reversal of the emotional facts. His comments about sexual precociousness (1944) and hysteria (1954) noted that severe emotional deprivation and desires could be manifested through various forms, including sexual tensions and somatic complaints. It is suggested that it was because these youths had never received emotional intimacy from another during development that sexual relations were so actively pursued as a substitute satisfaction. Their preoccupation with sex to the exclusion of relational intimacy is understood as a sexual maturity ruse. Additionally, it is my opinion that the abusive attitudes that were expressed by many of my male students in conjunction with the *macho* behaviour they exhibited through various forms of physical strength and aggressive behaviour, was a direct reflection of early infantile inadequacies being enacted through the facade of social sanctions for males in an effort to recompense inner conflicts.

Many of them, aged sixteen and seventeen, had or were expecting children themselves, and in some cases more than one. 'This is essentially a defence, often provoked by seductiveness in the parent, in which the infantile dependent longings are disguised as a precocious genitality. At bottom, however, is not sexual gratification as such, but contact and nurturance' (Fairbairn 1944, cited in Greenberg and Mitchell 1983, p. 169). The act of intercourse, which in healthy development is the expected outcome of experiencing first-hand, relations dominated by relational responsiveness, had supplanted the prerequisite for mature dependence. The need for sex was an attempt to fulfill their chronic relational vacuum through momentary physical pleasure. The desire for a child was understood not with a view toward nurturing the needs of another, but as an attempt to eradicate their own emotional

void and missing affective nourishment which they unconsciously phantasized a child would provide.

Family Relationships

It was quite common for inmates to report that a sibling, parent, or relative had a history of involvement with the law. The combination of emotional abuse to which these students had been subjected and the figures with whom they could identify made emotional pathology and deviant behaviour virtually inevitable. Stories would be told of regular drug use by parents and the pride of being invited to share in the event at some opportune time when it was determined that the youth was of an appropriate age. One student told me with admiration how his mother had knocked-out his primary school teacher when she came to speak to the teacher about her son being obstinate while in class. Another student told me how *cool* his mother was as indicated by her attempt to throw drugs over the fence of a youth centre where her son was incarcerated. Emotional disturbances were channelled through identification with the disturbed agents of their care, and the defensive responses to their trauma were projected onto persons outside the family. This idea is relevant to a further extension of the comments about the generational component of psychopathology in Part 2. Winnicott emphasized the extent to which the personalities of parents directly impact on the development of their children. He proposed that it was the way in which a parent's own nurturing at the hands of its mother and father, and subsequently the quality of care extended to their child, that in turn resonate through each subsequent child's life. By definition, then,

Winnicott viewed any form of psychopathology as the result of parental deficiency. ' . . . the child lives within the circle of the parent's personality and . . . this circle has pathological features' (Winnicott 1948, p. 9). As one's complete state of dependence during infancy and childhood dictates, the disturbances of one's caretakers are accepted and integrated as the norm. Despite compelling evidence to the contrary, my students would often distort reality to such a degree that one or more of their parents would be idealized for their unrelenting support and positive influence. Interestingly, such misrepresentations mirrored the experiences about which Fairbairn reported with children whose parents had been severely abusive. It may be suggested that many of these were persons for whom *good enough mothering* (Winnicott 1960) had never existed. Their ability for self-containment had been severely impaired. Contrary to any infantile sense of omnipotence made possible from the *perfect environment* provided by the mother (1949a) which included: *primary maternal preoccupation* with her child's development, *empathic anticipations* (including timing) of her child's needs (1945), and *mirroring* of the infant's valued self (1971), the chronic young offender was the product of *maternal failure* (1956). It is surmised that many of these were persons who had not, as infants, experienced an initial sense of omnipotent control over external objects, what Winnicott referred to as *object-relating*. We may also speculate that external objects, namely, the figures on whom one was completely dependent for its needs to be met, were experienced as something that was independent and beyond his or her immediate control, what Winnicott referred to as *object-usage*. I would surmise that for those who had become chronic offenders, the preponderance of their formative experiences with external objects was such that they had never been felt to be within their control. In

other words, they either never had a sense of *object-relating*, or else it was stultified. The anger, aggression, and destruction they displayed was less, I suggest, the result of Winnicott's proposed reaction by the child to the recognition of the difference between omnipotent *object-relating* and realistic *object-usage*, and more the result of a continuation of the inner sense of helplessness and powerlessness they felt as infants in the face of inadequate primary care and premature separation. Using the work of Winnicott in conjunction with male abusers, Jukes (1999) notes that:

‘Abusive men are developmentally fixated at a point in the emotional life when they needed to be able to use an object (usually the mother) in what from an adult point of view is an entirely omnipotent way, such that her needs, desires and wishes should not exist. She should simply be there like air, to draw on when needed and without resistance’ (p. 110).

Evidence supports the lasting impressions of childhood abuse. An individual whose history has been filled with memories of violence or neglect cannot be dismissed as *water under the bridge* from which they should *get on with their lives*. The emotional construction of such persons becomes sensitized to stimuli that serve to trigger various unconscious trauma. Pollak (1999) reported that for children who were assigned the task of simply looking at pictures of faces, those who had come from an abusive background exhibited dramatically heightened brain wave activity when confronted with faces depicting angry expressions. Similarly, Francis et al. (1996) has shown that while close, nurturing relationships in the formative years instill and insulate what might be viewed as a form of permanent antidote to the degenerative influences of stress, the opposite also holds true. They found that neglected children, that is, children for whom impaired attachment was evidenced, responded to various stress inducing events with an exaggerated outpouring of stress hormones and

neurotransmitters, and that this overreaction persisted into adulthood. Thus, a minor stressor would result in pathological anxiety, and a more serious situation would plunge them into the depths of despair (Francis et al. 1996, p. 148) from which we might extrapolate could, alternatively, include defensive reactions of aggression.

Prison Life - The Influences of Incarceration

The cultural milieu that permeated the prison ran counter to the norms and values that operate in the world outside. Abstract concepts such as trust, honesty, respect for authority, fairness, compassion, and compromise were either distorted or inapplicable within this setting. The implementation of treatment modalities which invite psychological change and challenge existing patterns of behaviour and thought for the youths who were residing in this setting would have inadvertently placed them at risk. If they had been encouraged to grow in a direction that would ameliorate the feelings and attitudes which had impaired their lives outside of the prison and resulted in incarceration, they would be placed in danger since such thinking aided in their survival and functioning within a pathological environment. For example, violent aggression was used in the prison as a means through which self-respect and personal safety was achieved, while the opposite was true of passivity. If asked about the details of an incident involving a breach of code of conduct, not divulging such information (being *solid* versus a *rat*), was a cardinal rule which, if broken, would seriously jeopardize one's safety. The achievement of respect and safety were obtained primarily through fear, intimidation, violence, and the maintaining of an internal code of silence in reference to the

culpable actions of another. Societal members who had achieved success through the attributes of discipline, hard work, tenacity, deferred gratification, and upheld the principles of law and respect for others, were viewed with disdain and assigned the derisive terms *Geeks*, *Nerds*, or *Bitches*. To administer therapy within such a setting would be to place them in a position of practical and emotional conflict since the emotional requirements of the two were in opposition to one another.

Main (1957) was among the first to note that ‘. . . primitive defences including splitting, projection and projective identification, as well as high levels of persecutory anxiety commonly operating within forensic patients can also operate within staff groups.’ Weinstock (1989, cited in Young 1998, pp. 150-51) highlights the extent to which the prison environment encourages ego weakness, paranoia, deception, and personal detachment, all of which run counter to the goals of psychotherapy. Mittler (1984) notes how the monotony of institutional routine can lead to boredom, apathy, loss of initiative, and institutional neurosis (p. 221). And Hinshelwood (1993) discusses the liabilities of psychotherapy in a setting where the staff are divided amongst themselves between those who, on one hand, view their role as fulfilling a custodial function to safeguard society while those, on the other, see it for the purposes of treatment and rehabilitation.

Racism

The intensity of anger and rage of the youths with whom I dealt was continuously made

evident. Their educational histories, journal and creative writing, fantasies, choice of music, films, reading material, topics of conversation, jokes, future plans, and criminal activity contained strong elements of violence and aggression. With the introduction of what some consider to be Melanie Klein's most important conceptual contribution to psychoanalytic thought, *projective identification* involves parts of the self and internal objects being split off and projected into the external object (group or individual), which is then unconsciously felt to be possessed by, controlled and identified with those projected parts (Segal 1973, p. 27). Klein felt that this process was the prototype of all aggressive object relations (1946, p. 8) which could occur completely within the unconscious of the projecting person and therefore need not be directly involved with any specific behaviour of another. The existence of the Other, then, was felt to be capable of residing in the inner world of the person who creates projective identification, and provides the response to the Other from their (the projector's) own particular phantasy construction. Different parts of the self may be selected for projection. Unwanted parts of the self, for example, may be projected in an attempt to manage and expel excessive anxiety, and at the same time provide for the opportunity to attack and destroy an object felt to possess them. Projective identification is the basic mechanism within psychoanalytic thought by which a person is capable of becoming, among many different affiliations, a racist, or the member of a particular gang which routinely inflicts damage on others. Adapting their own intrapsychic anxieties to a particular group's unique version of prejudice, stereotyping, and scapegoating impairs their ability to think and feel with reason and becomes an overused defence against the reality of their deepest anxieties. Rather than acknowledge our own unconscious fears and destructiveness in response to such fears,

we may project these into the structure of a particular group or individual that is selected for the threat it constitutes, whereupon we feel an unconscious sense of justification to behave inhumanely toward such persons because they are felt to contain all the evil and destructiveness we are attempting to control and destroy. In his psychohistorical account of racism in the Americas, Young (1993), focuses on the plight of the Native American Indian in the New World, in addition to citing numerous other examples including 'Kampuchea, the Holocaust, the Armenian massacre, Adjarbajanis, Gypsies, the Irish, Palestinians, Kurds, the Crusades, the Inquisition, the sweep of Islam across North Africa and as far as southern Spain' (Young 1993, p. 5). Using Klein's concepts of psychotic anxiety and projective identification Young highlights our ability and need to understand how such acts of savagery continue.

Such theoretical constructions may be applied to the racist attitudes that were prevalent amongst a young inmate population. Taking some of the ideas that originated with Klein and modifying them in accordance with Fairbairn's general frame of reference (and research from attachment theory), it is agreed that the need to destroy an individual or specific group of people is understood as a reflection of the unconscious threat that such a person(s) are felt to be to the projector. These youths had unconsciously split off various unacceptable aspects of their own make-up and projected them onto specific figures of conspicuous minority groups. In some cases they would treat members of these groups in a manner that would provoke them into responding in particular ways that would thereby justify their demeaning attitudes and debased treatment, but in most cases such targeted groups presented no real external motive for the actions of their aggressors. Within Fairbairn's paradigm, to accept that it was

themselves who were the rejected, despised, devalued, scapegoats of their parents own hostility and feelings of malignment would be emotionally intolerable. Instead, they would project such feelings onto identifiable groups and selected individuals in an attempt to purge themselves of their unconscious feelings of persecution. They had internalized the feelings of contempt, rejection, and other diminished feelings of self respect that they had experienced at the hands of their caretakers, which gave rise to the intensity of their anxiety and feelings of aggression. However, rather than identify with the victims that they had been as dependents, they defended themselves by identifying with their aggressors and responded violently as a reaction to those projected feelings. Similarly, in some cases these students had no choice but to pattern their own unconscious structure around the pathological prototype of their family which frequently condoned racism and other forms of discrimination. Here, the use of projective identification was made available as a viable defence against generational feelings of unconscious envy, hostility, and paranoia. Fairbairn would argue that the perpetual process of maligning, torturing, or abusing another person or group with relative comfort would only be possible if the family dynamics cultivated a relational atmosphere in which inhumanity was considered a viable treatment of others. If the specific treatment of an individual within their family nurtured feelings of defenceless persecution which were unconsciously stored, but could not be acted out, given the confines of ones place within the family, then we can expect that such feelings would be externalized (displaced) in a perpetual attempt to manage the infantile anxieties that had arisen from such formative experiences.

The crimes that many of my students would commit, the attitudes that they would hold, and

the consequences of their actions were carried out without remorse because they were unconsciously projecting and acting upon primitive anxieties and unresolved hostility. It may be proposed that for some of them, other persons were not seen as integrated whole objects that possessed both good and bad elements, but as part objects, primarily bad, that were unconsciously envied, feared, and therefore needed to be destroyed because of the threat they constituted. We might theorize that many had failed to move beyond Klein's proposed *paranoid-schizoid* position to the more advanced *depressive-position*, or stated alternatively, that their familial experiences had been such that their unconscious understanding of interpersonal relations were of a paranoid nature. They had not the need or the opportunity to engage in any form of attachment reparation with their emotionally pivotal figures since these persons remained *split*, as well as having unknowingly arranged for the conditions and treatment which instill and perpetuate the desire to hate and destroy others. They were persons whose emotional experiences were such that any notion of the damaging effects of their actions paled in comparison to what was felt to be the justification of such behaviour. As was discussed under the subject of spousal abuse, an individual who is a victim of sustained emotional maltreatment will be incapable of exercising consideration and compassion for the welfare of others. These persons had deemed their behaviour acceptable because they had constructed an unconscious belief system in which their current behaviour was thought to be provoked or justified by the Other. The victim of a car theft, for example, '. . . would have insurance anyway'; an assault victim '. . . looked at me the wrong way'; a break and enter might be explained in terms of, '. . . anyone living in that kind of house has lots of money'; an assault on a home owner, '. . . the occupant tried to stop me'; for a robbery, '. . . my rent

money was due'; et cetera. These persons felt no need to reflect on their behaviour since from their vantage point no crime had been committed, and, if it had, they were not the culprit, and if they were convicted, they had been wrongfully charged since their behaviour was for legitimate reasons. It is theorized that they had integrated little emotional ambivalence toward the central figures in their lives since most of their formative experiences that invoked any feelings of good and bad were so skewed in favour of the latter that they were incapable of reflective remorse. They were so preoccupied with conscious and unconscious thoughts of hatred, rage, revenge, and anxiety, that any insight into the self-destructive nature of their behaviour might be analogous to the following joke. An inexperienced therapist is dealing with a patient who is convinced that they are dead. For weeks the therapist had been employing every *rational explanation* they can think of to prove the impossibility of such a belief. After numerous sessions in which the patient successfully refutes each of the arguments presented by the therapist, the therapist suddenly has an idea which they consider of monumental importance. "Do dead persons bleed?" they ask the patient. "Don't be absurd. Of course they don't bleed," the patient responds. The therapist then proceeds to ask the patient if they may be permitted to gently pierce the end of their finger with a needle. After doing so, blood appears, and the therapist, satisfied with their *proven* success, sits back in their chair and gloats. The patient stares intently at their finger and declares "I'll be damned. Dead people do bleed."

By addressing the concept of racism in terms of psychoanalytic thought, Pajaczkowska and Young (1992) state that contrary to the notion of racist ideology being an example of

individual pathology, psychoanalysis may be used as a theoretical framework from which to understand the psyche of the oppressor over the oppressed, for which there is an extensive history throughout the human race. Further, they point out that in addition to racism existing as a subjective entity through the unconscious perception of others, it also exists in objective reality, produced by the history of imperialism, colonialism and exploitation (Pajaczkowska and Young 1992, p. 199). Thus, it is the combination of the subjective or unconscious world of the individual, in combination with the cultural structure into which they must function, that will contribute to how racial differences will be enacted. Any racial minority who formulates a sense of identity within a culture where White narcissism prevails, can be expected to experience varying degrees of emotional trauma. The identity of a person for whom reading and writing were, for example, at one time illegal, or for whom negative aspersions are cast by those in positions of power, can be expected to suffer from the intensity of their inability to respond adequately to these conditions, and by the upheaval and long-lasting effects that it brings in psychical organisation (Laplanche and Pontalis 1988, p. 465).

In the course of any development there can be expected to be elements of one's own personality about which one would prefer to deny. The ability to identify with another involves the processes of introjection, projection, and subjective evaluation of others through which healthy identity and relationships are made possible. However, these may also be used in a defensive manner. In racism, these processes are used to formulate and maintain violent exploitative structures of identity. The individual projects onto another, aspects of his or her own experiences, phantasy or memory which they seek to deny. In order to maintain the

denial of any particularly objectionable information about themselves, an individual may construct the phantasy that a socially and culturally maligned individual or group possesses those features they most fear in themselves, which often include some combination of aggression and sexuality (Pajaczkowska and Young 1992, p. 201). It is interesting that racism is often enacted under the guise of virtuous behaviour since it is undertaken for the alleged protection of others while maintaining an identity thought to be the normative criterion within society.

Using Hall's (1989, 1991) historical research on British, White, male, middle class identity in the second half of the nineteenth century as the *ordinary* cultural norm, Pajaczkowska and Young speculate as to why these standards were so resistant to the abusive elements they clearly manifested. Hall's detailed study of the British Colonial presence in Australia and Jamaica revealed how the brutal, often sadistic, politics of colonial administrators were based on the ideology of the middle class masculinity of the time (p. 202). They propose that the administrators own unconscious fears surrounding dependence were projected onto indigenous peoples. Likewise, the unconscious phantasies of laziness, greed, and uncontrolled sexuality of the officials that were projected onto the natives, bore no relation to the actual predicament of the indigenous peoples, but rather reinforced the disavowed aspect of the 'independent white man's self identity' (p. 203). Such projections enable a culturally and individually constructed identity to achieve a position of safety, power, control, independence and contentment. However, such an identity is illusory since it requires an emotional and intellectual distortion of others that will sustain a narcissistic belief system. The racist

individual, then, will be dependent on others to reflect back to them the disowned parts which they unconsciously regard as inferior, contemptible, dependent, frightened or threatening, perhaps excremental (p. 204).

Within the cultural context of the prison, Thomas (1993) notes that the racial identity of an inmate will provide a symbolic representation that allocates both power and privilege, establishes social and political boundaries, and shapes interactions between the respective members and groups (pp. 51-52). The prevalence of racism in prisons, he suggests, does not occur merely as a result of discriminatory attitudes and practices, but also because an individual's race conveys a set of socially sanctioned meanings that will strongly influence *how one will serve their time*. Here, race becomes a metaphor in which social myths are orchestrated in such a manner that dictates are established for how different racial groups are expected to act and interact with others. 'Such myths reproduce power relations that reinforce stigma, define social responses, and establish borders around the scared dominant groups and the profane subordinate ones (Thomas 1993, p. 52).

Thomas states that 'for whites, racial identity promotes white unity by conferring a set of hostile meanings upon nonwhites' (p. 53). More specifically, as expressed by one prisoner during the course of Thomas' ethnographic study into the culture of maximum security prisons: blacks are imbued with the qualities of being uneducated, having no respect for the rights of others, having no common sense, can only survive in a gang, are loud mouthed, and are cowardly. Puerto Ricans are worse (ibid.). The hostility that such thinking entails,

functions to solidify different racial groups by reinforcing an unconscious construction of racist metaphors which justify continued animosity and mortification rituals (Goffman 1961, p. 14).

Supportive of the expressed findings of Hall (1989, 1991) on the dominance of Whites throughout the latter half of the nineteenth century, Thomas found that even when nonwhite prisoners are in the majority, racial abuse frequently permeates these persons prison experience. One such reported example was that of black activist who left his locked cell and returned to find that someone with access to a set of keys, had painted racial epithets and Ku Klux Klan messages on the walls (p. 54). Nonwhites, then, are forced to adjust to the prison culture by joining gangs wherein competition takes place along racial lines. Consequently, quasi-independent subcultures are established with their own social organizations, values, economics, and social controls. However, such divisions conceal the common problems which all prisoners share, and perpetuate the tension between a white administrative power structure, and a nonwhite prisoner social order. This system creates conditions that exacerbate the qualities of hatred, mistrust, and predation (p. 54). The cultural meanings that are assigned to various identifiable racial groups within the larger social structure become an integral part of how resources are distributed within the structural boundaries of the prison. The shared symbolic meanings about different races contribute to the daily turmoil in prisons by shaping an inescapable aspect of existence that is debilitating for all inmates and staff (p. 55).

It should be said that while I witnessed and was told of several examples of acts of violence that were racially motivated, primarily conflicts between inmates with a white, native, black, or Hispanic ancestry, for the most part their relatively short length of stay curtailed the opportunity for individuals to firmly pit one racial group against another. Nevertheless, the antecedents of more entrenched divisions were clearly evidenced from stories of racial compartmentalization outside of the prison, as well as reported incidents from longer-term prisons where the offenders would serve out their sentences. It may also be stated that relative to the per capita percentage of whites living in the catchment area of the prison where I worked, the administration of the prison reported that a significant percentage of the young offender population were nonwhite, supporting my own observations and research finding of race being a significant component amongst the criminal population (Hood 1992, pp. 126-32).

Revenge/Empathy

Zahn-Waxler et al. (1979) observed that children as young as two would attempt to comfort similarly aged children who were in distress. Their research indicated that children with mothers who were assessed to be attentive and emotionally in-touch with their child's needs in comparison with mothers who were not, were the children who were most active in their attempts to comfort their distressed peers. Conversely, Main and George (1985) compared a group of ten physically abused children to a group of non-battered children. Significant differences were observed with respect to demonstrated hostility toward others, with the abused toddlers engaging in assaultive behaviour both toward adults as well as peers, twice as

often as the controls. It is noteworthy that Bowlby (1988, pp. 90-91) concluded that children of abusive parents appeared determined to make their chosen victim show distress and anxiety. These were children who prior to the age of three demonstrated an inability to provide comfort toward a peer who was visibly upset, while five of the ten controls did offer comfort and support. Further, Jukes (1999) notes that the inability to empathize with others is a developmental failure suffered by the vast majority of abusive men with whom he works, and which, accordingly, he considers reflective ‘. . . of failure in early relationships with primary caregivers’ (p. 5). ‘There is overwhelming evidence that the quality of the first attachment, the primary bond, is of profound importance for later mental and social health. Attachments (particularly early ones) become internalized as ‘working models’ ‘(p. 37).

Substance Abuse

Although several of my students were incarcerated for charges unrelated to narcotics, regular drug use was the practice of most. Beyond their involvement with drugs for the purposes of trafficking, was their personal use. It is argued that this was used as a means to escape from reality, or as one student expressed it, ‘Reality is for people who can’t face drugs.’ If the quality of one’s earliest relational experiences yield primarily unmanageable mental anguish, then alternatives for escape can be expected to include such things as psychoses (Winnicott 1945), suicidal behaviour, and the chronic use of drugs and alcohol. I would theorize that the perilous behaviour that was often the case for these persons, and the exhilaration they reported from the *rush* of such actions which included their crimes, was precisely because they

were tormented by reality. They therefore had a need to participate in experiences that would be life affirming while at the same time giving little consideration for the risks or consequences involved since they had essentially nothing to lose. Whether through the temporary release provided by drugs or the permanence of death, the reality of life was too much for them to endure. Not surprisingly, many of my students reported that their parents were substance abusers. Through their treatment of their children they had implicitly, and by explicit invitation in some cases, provided their children with the impetus for how drugs and alcohol could serve as a means to evade the harsh injustices that life represented for them.

The use of opium, and by extension, the closely related chemical cousins of morphine, codeine, and heroin have been a blessing of discovery within the field of medicine for their pain relieving properties. However, opiates not only serve to ameliorate the pain associated with physical injuries, but that of emotional anguish as well. What MacLean (1990) termed the *paleomammalian brain* has been shown have more opiate receptors than any other area of the brain (Wise and Herkenham 1982), thus, the mourning that is experienced following a severed relationship can be reduced significantly if the proper dose of opiate is provided (Panksepp et al. 1985). We can not assign supremacy to the pain that arises from a physical malady versus one of emotional discord. Both disable healthy functioning. I would argue that the apparent reckless behaviour of the inmates, and their frequent self-mutilating behaviour through the frequent cutting and burning on their bodies, was propelled by our evolutionary adaptation to physical contusions, which includes an increased flow of opiates (in the form of endorphin) and mitigate inner suffering. Such actions are proposed to have occurred from a

lifelong sensitivity to the pain associated with the absence of emotional contact or the severing of such ties. The pain that cannot be endured from the repeated and collective mass of disappointments, quarrels, and emotional estrangement, is numbed through chemicals. Alternatively, emotionally nurturing relationships with parents, spouses, children, and friends provide us with our own daily supply of opiate *highs*, insulating us from the pain of loneliness and isolation. When depression, anxiety, bitterness, sorrow, and despair continue to affect large percentages of the population, efforts continue to manipulate the sophisticated orchestra of human emotion through the use of illicit substances. However, such *home grown* remedies do not meet with success, that is, they do not yield a consistent increase in sustained happiness and emotional fulfilment. And although they do eliminate despair for anywhere from a few minutes to a few hours, eventually their effects dissipate and the pain returns with renewed vigour. Chronic drug use annihilates the nervous system and concomitantly, further diminishes an already enervated soul. The debate on the proposed inherited temperament of chronic users and their susceptibility to the addiction of substance abuse, will continue, but in the meantime there is also research around modulating children's vulnerability to drugs. Numerous studies have shown that children with close family ties are far less likely to become engulfed in the social net of drugs (Bell and Champion 1979; Nicholi 1983; Jurich et al. 1985; Cadoret et al. 1986; Reynolds and Rob 1988; Stoker and Swadi 1990; Nurco et al. 1996; Risser et al. 1996; Nurco et al. 1998). Even under the most auspicious of conditions, adolescence is a time when hormonal surges are considerable, changing expectations from others are in effect, increased responsibility is being given, and life altering decisions are taking place. If they do not receive the emotional regulating influences from long-standing

significant adult figures within the home, it can be expected that they will turn to the illusory promise of the chemical options outside it. Incarceration will certainly not address the problem, and treatment, while preferable, has its limitations. Prevention, although some might claim to be naive, is where it is proposed that the most gain for our tax dollar can be found. The long-term dividends of a sound investment in the raising of our children with attentive care and love will surpass television advertisements and colourful placards displaying cautionary messages about the harmful effects of drugs. The evidence supports that it is the meeting of the child's emotional needs that will best serve to immunize it from the threat of drugs.

Life and Death

As an analyst of both Fairbairn and Winnicott, Guntrip had the advantage of synthesizing and popularizing their work. In what he characterized as an amendment and elaboration of Fairbairn's theory of ego-splitting, he focussed on the development of a concept he called *the regressed ego* (Guntrip 1961). In Part 2 it was noted that splits in the ego, according to Fairbairn, occur as a result of contacts with objects in the external world that are experienced as *bad*. Accordingly, the ego is fragmented wherein the bad qualities of external objects are internalized, thereby diminishing the central ego's attachment to persons in the real (external) world. Guntrip differed from Fairbairn by asserting that a fragmented ego does not just result in the ego's partial withdrawal from actual external objects, but an additional withdrawal from objects entirely, both in the external and internal world. While Fairbairn proposed that a

portion of the *libidinal ego* (the collective emotional reservoir of pain from the various disappointments, dashed hopes, broken promises, unfulfilled wishes, and general mistreatment of early development), remained attached to the *exciting object* which holds on to the wish that a more promising future may be realized through the same figures that were the source of such distress, Guntrip argues that an additional split takes place. Another part of the ego becomes split off from the exciting object and withdraws into an isolated, objectless state, renouncing object-seeking entirely. For Guntrip, the regressed ego represents an overwhelming sense of futility and distress. He felt that it was 'the severity of the depriving experiences with real others that would produce a fear of and antipathy toward life so intense and pervasive that a central part of the ego would renounce attachment to all objects' (Guntrip, 1961, cited in Greenberg and Mitchell 1983, p. 211). Within this attempt to flee from the world of objects (internal and external) Guntrip further asserted that the individual would seek to regress 'to the comfort and security of the womb and await a rebirth into a more hospitable human environment' (ibid.). When the desire to withdraw from life supercedes the yearning for renewal, 'the regression is experienced as a longing for death - relief from conflicting relations with external and internal objects' (ibid.). In the face of severe treatment which would include such things as neglect, abandonment, physical and sexual abuse, rejection, and emotional indifference, the threat of personality disintegration is experienced. Guntrip felt that the ego struggles to remain attached to life while battling against these regressive desires. Applying this line of thought to the inmates it may be proposed that much of their behaviour represented a balance between behaviour that courted death (with some actually achieving it), the regressive lure to achieve a new beginning by

abandoning their life of crime and *start over*, and their perpetual attachment to bad objects as a defence against such regressive desires.

Friends

The circle of friends with whom my students associated was not, it is asserted, a matter of coincidence. They had not 'become involved with the wrong crowd at the wrong time' through which they had been enveloped in a life of crime. It is my contention that they had an unconscious affiliation with one another's emotional background, outlook, and response to life. In addition to their shared criminal activities and drug use, their relationships often had a history which dated back to childhood. It was striking the degree of familiarity and comfort that these persons had with one another and the large number of other offenders they knew or with whom they had an acquaintance. While this would often occur from other institutions in which they had been and the respective neighbourhood associations outside the prison, I would suggest that it was their common emotional environment and kindred attitude toward life which drew and held them together. 'Their object choices seem pathological or perverse' (Armstrong-Perlman 1991, p. 223), or what Fairbairn referred to as the 'obstinate attachment to the bad object' (1944, p. 117).

Winnicott highlighted the erroneous assumption made within classical psychoanalytic theory that the neurotic was actually a person, in the sense that they had a unified and stable personality available to interact with others. Similarly, it is proposed that many of the inmates

did not have mature personalities that were available for healthy interaction with others, and yet the assumption prevailed that they were fully capable of doing so. The relationships they formed consistently revealed mutual pain and suffering through, say, a high speed car chase in which either themselves or one of their *friends* would be thrown from a stolen vehicle upon impact, the stealing from the family of a *close* friend, or the overdosing of a shared narcotic with a friend at a party. In accordance with the Winnicott's thinking, then, such youths were incapable of entering into relationships that entailed mutual respect, devotion, compassion, trust, and genuine interest in others because they were missing the prerequisite relational foundation. It might be speculated that they were the adolescents whose mothers had failed to resonate with their needs as infants. In the same way that it was outlined that individuals in abusive relationships unconsciously arrange for such partnerships to occur and continue, these persons had chosen relationships in which a tacit agreement was made concerning a lifestyle deemed acceptable, necessary, and justified. 'The frustrating aspects of the relationships are denied, as well as the consequent rage, hatred, and humiliation, and the shame regarding the humiliation' (Armstrong-Perlman 1991, p. 224).

Phantasy and Freedom

With very few exceptions each inmate was convinced that they would not return to prison because of their commitment to abandon their life of crime. However, what they could not relinquish was their unconscious motivation for committing such acts. They needed to engage in criminal behaviour in an effort to purge themselves of their internalized hostility toward a

withholding and unjust world. Their impulsive behaviour remained at the primitive level of a child because they had never learned, through the patient nurturing of another, how to cope with the inexorable struggles of life. These were the youths who, as infants, Winnicott might argue were impaired by the absence of a single consistent figure who willingly and successfully assumed the responsibility of facilitating their self-integration. The implication is that the ability to tolerate frustration, disappointment, and conflict; to exercise discipline, restraint, and forethought are qualities that require a future which is believed to have a predictable degree of optimism and hope based on positive emotional outcomes. To persevere in the face of difficulties requires that ones own needs and wants, met with optimism and empathy through which the ability for inner control and personal achievement, is felt possible.

My students would repeatedly return to the prison because they were locked into an unconscious pattern of acting upon their original sense of mistreatment through various forms of antisocial behaviour, which ultimately included the need to be punished for the people they unconsciously felt themselves to be. They had not received the required emotional nutrition to cope with the responsibility that freedom entails. They needed others to provide them with direction and regulate their lives, just as a child needs its parents. Their repeated return to the controlling, punitive environment of the prison was essentially a repetition of their attachment to the rejecting, punitive elements of their primary caretakers, in an environment where the inhabitants and conditions were such that communication occurred through control, frustration, intimidation, mistrust, disinterest, humiliation, and punishment, among others.

Using Fairbairn's logic, they were perpetually acting upon their intrapsychic conflicts. They struggled with the ability to lead productive, law abiding lives, as such a world would require that they disengage themselves from the internalized objects of their past. Although they consciously rejected the restrictions imposed on their lives while in custody, they also experienced a sense of security from the predictable routine of each day. They could rely on the provision of their basic needs through regular meals, snacks, clothing, personal hygiene, medical attention, recreational facilities, education, and spiritual support. They would object to the parameters which restricted their freedom and yet lacked the necessary ego integration to cultivate these achievements for themselves. They craved the lack of freedom which the prison represented, but were unconsciously comforted by the fact that these needs and wants were provided simply as a result of their existence. They received these provisions because of their being, and less because of something they did or had to do. In this sense they had regressed to their lives as infants which had been sustained and regulated by the restricting, frustrating, and overpowering actions of the guards who were loathed for the unconscious dependency and vulnerability they represented.

Emotional Connections

Despite the many limitations within which I operated there were many personal experiences through which I knew that I had had an emotional impact on many of these youths, and they on me. The mere act of walking onto the range and being greeted with smiles and handshakes made me realize that for the most part this element of society's outcasts were capable of

responding to human compassion. Being told that for first time in his life as an inmate, an offender was actually was looking forward to spending sixteen hours in his cell in order that he could continue reading his first novel, left an indelible impression.

I became particularly close to a student who had been in numerous foster homes, the sizeable scar on his neck serving as a reminder of the actions of one of his stepfathers. This young man was known for his strength and violent temper and although I would often tease him in a manner one might ordinarily think would jeopardize my safety, and while he certainly did not hesitate to demonstrate his ability to annihilate my existence should that have been his wish, such a possibility never truly entered the relationship. When he was irrate with me for refusing to accept an offer to steal a car that was considerably more valuable than the one I drove, I knew that in his own way it was a gesture of kindness. Further, he would share with me the story of how he and a number of other offenders went about brewing prison-made alcohol that would be ready to celebrate the New Year. And when he was transferred to the adult side to serve out his sentence, he wrote me the letter of thanks. The last I heard he was serving an adult sentence in excess of two years in a maximum security penitentiary.

Even though the next student I write about only served one month, he spent the entire day with me as it was his intent to obtain a complete academic credit during his sentence. During rest breaks from his assignments we would talk at length about various issues, generally instigated by his own journal writing, but not exclusively. On the morning of his release date I was entering the building I saw him waiting for his ride. By lunch time the arranged

transportation had still not arrived and I ended up driving him to a local café where we had a coffee, after which I drove him as far as time would permit toward his home, as I had to return for the afternoon session. Some years later as I was leaving the institution my name was yelled out from an adult holding cell. Apparently he had been asking some of the adult guards whether they could find out if I still worked with young offenders and although certainly less than favourable circumstances, it was wonderful to spend another few moments with him and feel the mutual enthusiasm for the positive affect that had exchanged between us during an earlier time.

As I was leaving the car park one afternoon a former student came running toward me to say hello. He was with his father who had come during visiting hours to see one of the adult inmates. It was not until later in the year when I saw this youth, once again as a young offender student, that he revealed having been *on the run* when he had stopped me to speak in the car park, having escaped from an open custody facility. Fearing the awkward position that such an admission would place me in, but not wanting to miss the opportunity for us to speak, he had kept his unlawful status to himself. Another particularly poignant memory was when I walked onto the range one morning and saw that his eye was black, closed, and swollen to an enormous size. He had been *sucker punched* (struck from his blind side) by another inmate while in the gymnasium. I was extremely angry as I had a particular fondness for this young man. He was one of the two former students who I visited in later years on the adult side. He died approximately four years ago in a motorcycle accident.

On more than one occasion I found that certain student *veterans* would take it upon themselves to act as my *behaviour monitor* in the classroom. For example, if I had invited a new student to the class to take their seat more than once, one of the long-term residents with whom I had a good rapport would step up and speak out: "Sir said to sit the fuck down asshole! Do it!" Alternatively, a student would offer to *punch out* anyone with whom I was expected to be having a difficulty - either inside or outside of the prison. Although such proposals generated a certain degree of amusement given their primitive quality, I recognized that they were made in a spirit that was intended to be genuinely supportive to which I expressed my appreciation while respectfully declining their offers.

The learning difficulties and limited formal education of the vast majority of these youths was glaringly apparent. In some cases I considered it nothing short of heroic for the few that were willing to make the effort to invest in this aspect of their lives when they had so much else going against them, in addition to their considerable scholastic shortcomings. One such case was a young man who remains ingrained in my memory because it was precisely in the face of his interminable educational struggles that he would persist each and every day, bringing rough drafts of his efforts to me, his intense concentration as I provided constructive feedback and suggestions for improvement, his return to his table to implement such responses, and so the process would continue. I saw him twice outside of the prison, once when he stopped me to talk in a car park of a local shopping mall, and the second when he identified me from the top of an escalator inside of a department store and called my name so that we could chat. From these two meetings I learned that he was re-enrolled in a community secondary school,

was part of the native student council, had had a second child, and by his own account, was doing well. Following an accident that involved *joy riding* in a stolen car, he is now a quadriplegic.

At the conclusion of the film *Schindler's List* an anti-Semitic comment was made by one the students in the room. I completely lost my composure and demanded that the student having made the comment identify himself. Given the rage and threatening demeanor that my behaviour conveyed it was somewhat surprising that a student did come forward. After dismissing the rest of the class and regaining my control I apologized for my outburst and told the student that despite the comment that was made, he should be able to rely on better behaviour from an adult, particularly that of an educator. What I will always remember was that he then apologized to me, from which I learned that he was actually innocent. His remark "No you're a Jew!" was in response to another inmate having directed this racial slur toward him. His response was initiated by the need to defend himself and yet he was willing to take ownership for his own behaviour by responding to my apology with, "Well I guess I was out of line too." He had indirectly reminded me of the student's ability to arouse my own reactionary aggression about which unconscious elements were an integral part. It was neither the first nor the last occasion in which I was forced to acknowledge and grapple with that side of my humanness, about which professionals are presumably felt to be capable of maintaining control. Although he was a struggling student his ability to excel at the game of 'Scrabble' was impressive, during which I would take the opportunity to point out his obvious talent. He died approximately two years ago in a high speed chase in a stolen car.

I would attempt to keep the atmosphere in the class fairly relaxed and would frequently clown around with the students whereby possible stereotypic impressions of teachers being distant authority figures might be lessened. Such comments were not intended to demean these individuals, but were made with a view toward establishing a preliminary connection between us that were ordinarily responded to with revelry and pleasure. At the end of the day I was summoned onto the range by a male student who had been in jail for four of the past five years and had considerable influence over the other residents. We were well acquainted and held a mutual respect for one another. He informed me that while he and the rest of the class understood the lightheartedness of the comments that I had directed toward a particular female in the class, she had not, and was growing increasingly close to losing control. In an effort to add some levity to my request to reduce the amount of talking at a particular work station I had selected the student who was actually contributing the *least* to the discussion, and asked if she would please decrease with distracting the others from completing their work. This young man was essentially advising me about something that I was quite unaware. He had the insight to foresee the possible negative consequences of an attempt that, in retrospect, I realized was potentially hazardous, as well as insulting. It presupposed the psychological foundation and cognitive ability to accept and discern between the ambiguous relationship that exists between comments made out of sarcastic malice and those made in frivolous jest - comments which can have precisely the opposite of the desired effect. From her perspective I was assigning blame to an innocent party. She was once again being victimized and humiliated. Her peer, a student-inmate, had become the teacher.

Several years before starting at the prison I had had back surgery and afterwards, continued to use an orthopaedic support while sitting in chairs. If I was fortunate I was able to arrange for the carpeted floor of the classroom to be vacuumed once a year. During this time a substantial amount of waste would accumulate on the floor, the most common and conspicuous items being small pieces of discarded paper. On one particular day, in an effort to tidy-up the room myself, I asked each of the lads to pick up any piece that was white, and large of enough to be thrown in the trash. No sooner had I uttered the request than I found myself being picked up and put on the ceiling, immediately following which I was brought down very gently and asked "Is your back okay?" Given my relatively compromised physical state compared with that of persons who were in the prime of their lives, they could have easily injured or overtaken me at any time they had decided. And despite the ostensible provisions to ensure my safety, that being the *code blue button* located next to my desk which when activated would summon every available guard to the room, as well as the close-circuit monitor, the students made it clear to me that if any one of them had decided to assault me, the time that would elapse between the button being pressed and the response of the staff, would be more than adequate to inflict significant damage. With respect to the visual monitor I received a telephone call one morning from a guard while I was in the class. He informed me that "I have good news and bad news. The bad news is that the monitor in your classroom isn't working. The good news is that we never look at the fucking thing anyway!" Although there were moments when I was indeed concerned for my safety and questioned whether a student's reaction to a particular decision would result in an assault, I was never injured in any way.

Year end celebrations were events that I looked forward to organizing. Discovering and predicting the particular likes and dislikes of the students in the areas of food, drink, and entertainment, that did not involve illicit activity or substances was more easily accomplished than one might think. At the end of my fourth year one of my long-term students had told me earlier about his craving for *Pole* sausage, and that this was best consumed between two *Pringles* (crisps). Other members of the class nodded in agreement. Not knowing exactly what this type of sausage was, I discovered that it was simply Polish sausage, and proceeded to ensure that this, along with every variety of flavour that Pringles made, was available at our year end event. Assorted flavours of soft drinks and colossal sized chocolate bars rounded out the meal. *There's Something About Mary* was the choice of film. I had never seen anyone consume food with such gustatory delight, and the boisterous laughter they demonstrated throughout the comedy show, only to be arrested when I stopped the picture part way through to say "We can't just watch the movie without anything else to eat. What kind of a party would that be?" whereupon the chocolate bars were produced. The comments of appreciation that were made throughout and following the afternoon were more than moving - that something so simple could produce such gratitude. It was a memorable experience.

Two additional themes that were not included under the methodology subheading VI *Selected Data and Emerging Themes*, but which nevertheless represented an enormous part of my observations, experiences, and analysis of the formal documented educational histories of these students, will now be presented.

I Learning Disabilities (Part A)

Remarks that repeatedly appeared throughout the educational documents of my students from the time they had started school included such comments as: 'Frequently displays aggressive behaviour,' 'Has a tendency toward violent outbursts,' 'Has difficulty controlling his/her temper,' 'Often engages in socially inappropriate behaviour,' 'Does not concentrate on the task at hand,' 'Has difficulty with peer interaction,' 'Demonstrates poor attention and listening skills,' 'Does not accept responsibility for own behaviour,' 'Is argumentative and non-compliant,' to name some. The conversations that I would have with former teachers and administrators where these students had attended were often accompanied by the warning 'They can destroy an entire room in a matter of minutes.' Their aberrant behaviour and scholastic anomalies were generally addressed through the school system as some form or combination of disability (intellectual or behavioural). In either case the assumption was that there was something inherent in the child/adolescent that impeded them from acting or learning in a conventional manner. By identifying the particular exceptionality in question, modifying that behaviour, the curriculum syllabus or pedagogical techniques through the syllabus was delivered, and legislating the individual to attend school, the idea was that the exceptional needs of the student would be met (Leschied et al. 1984; Leschied 1994). Most of these were students who had a history of truancy, repeated detentions, suspension on numerous occasions, and in many cases expelled from several of the secondary schools they had attended, and in some cases, elementary schools.

Leschied et al. (1988) report that forty to seventy percent of young offenders have some form of learning disability. The practical advantages and emotional benefits that derive from educational success play a key role in the therapy of the adolescent offender. The emotional gains that arise from educational success and the importance of addressing the exceptional needs of those for whom educational frustrations are at risk of becoming chronic, cannot be overstated. The assumption by educational authorities, however, generally appear to be one of salvation through information - the idea that if we can impart the prerequisite cognitive lessons, information, and scholastic skills, emotional order will follow - that there is something inherent in knowledge that can provide emotional reformation.

Learning Disabilities - Multiple Brains (Part B)

Evolutionary neuroanatomist and senior research scientist at the National Institute of Mental Health, Paul MacLean (1973, 1985, 1990), has argued that the human brain consists of three distinct sub-regions that each correspond to a particular evolutionary function, property, and even chemical composition. The oldest part of our evolving brain is what MacLean refers to as the *protoreptilian formation* - that which is responsible for neurons that control breathing, swallowing, heartbeat, adrenalin inducing flight or fight - essentially the necessary physiological requirements for survival. Even in a person who is declared *brain dead*, this is the part of the brain which continues to function. Without it, the body will die. The protoreptilian formation is what enables life to be sustained, but it is not what makes us human. Not surprisingly, reptiles do not have an emotional life. Their brains allow for crude

interactions that involve complex rituals surrounding courtship and mating, aggression and territorial defence, the obtaining of food, among others. The absurdity of attempting to engage a snake in a game of *fetch*, is an indirect recognition of their inability to do so given their singular protoreptilian brain structure, in contrast with the mammalian composition of three.

In 1879 a French surgeon and neuroanatomist, Paul Broca (Schiller 1992), published an important discovery, that being that the brains of all mammals hold a structure in common that he called *le grande lobe limbique* (the great limbic lobe). The significance of his finding was that he could see a border or division between this part of the brain and the rest of the cerebral hemisphere. The basics of biology generally constructs the distinction between reptiles and mammals along somatic lines. Mammals are recognized for developing hair rather than scales. They are self heating whereas reptiles rely on the sun to regulate body temperature. They give birth to babies and not eggs. However, MacLean notes that such a classification overlooks a major brain difference. As mammals diverge from the reptilian species, a new neural structure evolved within their skulls. The absence of emotion marks the cornerstone of the characteristic parental attitude of the typical reptile, whereas mammals immerse themselves in elaborate interactions with their offspring. Mammals protect, feed, defend, and nurture their young during the early stages of life. Such caretaking actions are so commonplace that they may frequently be assumed to have always existed despite this not being the case, but now provide evidence of the progressive formation of neural construction amongst all mammals. Whereas a reptile lays its eggs and proceeds to move on, mammals

establish mutually nurturant social entities in which its members touch and care for one another. Similarly, a mammal will willingly risk and sometimes lose its life in defence of its young, while, say, a salamander will watch the death of its kin with indifference. It is what MacLean then, terms, the *paleomammalian brain* which Broca identified and constitutes the second sub-region of our collective brain. And it is this evolutionary development which permits auditory communication between all mammals and their offspring. Remove a puppy from its mother and litter mates and it will begin an incessant plea for help - a separation cry - whose intent is to establish reunion. The vocal advertisement of personal vulnerability only makes sense amongst creatures whose brains can conceive of a parental protector, to which reptiles do not belong. Likewise, this unique property of the mammalian brain allows for the element of *play* to occur. Anyone who has played a tug-of-war game using an old shoe with a dog knows that the last thing the dog wants is the shoe, or the standard game of *fetch* in which a ball is merely thrown to no place in particular, provides the means through which mutual delight may occur. Clearly it is neither the shoe nor the ball itself, but the personal exchange of tugging, playful roughhousing, and departing and returning, which serves to satisfy. It is interesting that activities of this kind have nothing to do with food, sex, or aggression, and yet their absence can yield life threatening results. Despite the inability of animals to communicate through speech, it is the paleomammalian brain that we hold in common which enables us to communicate on a different level, the level of emotion through which play constitutes an integral part.

What MacLean calls the *neomammalian brain*, more commonly recognized as the neocortex,

is the largest of the three brains. Over the course of time, largely influenced through the process of evolutionary adaptation, the size of the neocortex has grown considerably amongst the human species, while those of monkeys and dogs remains smaller, but they too have increased substantially. Speaking, writing, planning, reasoning, abstract thought, and autonomic motor muscle movement, all derive from this area. From the ability to engage in various forms of mental gymnastics, the advantages of the neocortex might predictably be conferred with the greatest attributes amongst the human species - the assumption that evolution moves in a linear fashion with each successive generation of species producing an ever more advanced series of organisms. Such comprehensions, however, are inaccurate. Evolution is not represented by a structural pyramid of sequential advances. It is a conglomeration of various species that are perpetually mutating for which there is no crest of absolute supremacy. Rather than the neocortical brain being viewed as the most advanced of our current mental structure, it is more correctly viewed as the most recent.

There have been those who have criticized MacLean's triune model of the human brain for his intentional separation of intellect and emotion. While it is conceded that each brain has evolved to work in unison with its cranial partners, the lines between them, like night and day, are more shaded transitions than definitive lines of separation. However, it is quite different to state that day gives way to night through dusk, than it is to say that day and night are the same. The separation between reason and emotion, between intellect and the unconscious, is a theme that has existed from time immemorial, which has endured because it speaks to the depth of our divided minds. When viewed through the microscope the

paleomammalian brain reveals a more primitive cellular organization than the neocortex. Specific radiographic dyes have been used to demonstrate the molecular dissimilarity between the two (MacLean 1990). Levitt (1984) made an antibody that bound to all parts of the limbic brain without illuminating any of the neocortex. Peredery et al. (1992) discovered that some forms of medications destroyed limbic tissue while leaving the neocortex intact, made possible by the divergence in the chemical composition of the limbic and neocortical cell membranes. If a mother hamster's entire neocortex is removed, she can still raise her pups, but even slight limbic damage obliterates her maternal capabilities (MacLean 1990). Likewise, limbic damage in monkeys can eliminate an awareness of others. Following a limbic lobotomy, a monkey stepped on his peers as if treading on some inanimate object, and took food out of their hands as if they had ceased to exist (Ward 1948). MacLean also replicated the same loss of social awareness amongst rodents. After receiving limbic ablation, adult hamsters ignored the cry's of protest from their young for contact, and a limbectomized pup would continually trample on its litter mates as if their existence was inconsequential. As well as failing to recognize others, impairment of the limbic brain stripped these mammals of any responsiveness to the overtures of play by their peers.

Learning Disabilities - Intellect and Emotion (Part C)

It does not follow that intellectual growth can be equated with emotional health, or that the former will occur without addressing the latter. In all likelihood most of us know numerous people who function quite adequately in their professional lives while privately they are in

disarray. Due to the fact that we are most well acquainted with the verbal, rational aspect of our existence, we assume that most difficulties (and successes) should be capable of being overcome through the implementation of reason and will. However, orchestrated cognition and logic mean nothing to at least two of the three brains discussed, something which Freud had discovered more than a century ago. He or she cannot command themselves to *feel* what they do not; to will themselves to be happy when they are sad; to love someone for whom they feel indifference; to be calm when they are anxious; to be conscienceless when they are consumed by guilt; or even to be content when apparent materialism would appear to negate their feeling miserable. Emotional life can be influenced, nurtured, and encouraged but it cannot be commandeered. Society's preoccupation with technological devices and pharmacological approaches advocate expectations of rapid response, but in doing so ill prepare us to deal with the emotional mind that functions within. Our emotional domain, although inarticulate and unreasoning, can transcend us beyond logic or the comprehension of language which the neocortex affords. Perhaps the most esteemed neocortical brain amongst mortals, Albert Einstein, put it best when he said: 'We should take care not to make the intellect our god; it has, of course, powerful muscles, but no personality. It cannot lead; it can only serve' (Einstein 1995, p. 260).

In addition to struggling with specific learning difficulties, it is suggested that the education of these youths had been compromised because they could not allow themselves to be helped by the authority figures in a system that represented the unconscious prototypes from whom they had initially felt the unconscious need to defend themselves (Bettelheim 1982). They

had refused to conform to the requests of the first institution to which they were exposed outside the family, in the same way that the first authority figures in their lives had failed to adequately conform to their own requests. This was compounded by the additional humiliation and suffering of being asked to comply to curriculum demands with which they were cognitively ill equipped to handle, further reducing their already damaged sense of self. Such an impairment was further intensified by parents who frequently held teachers and formal learning in contempt, and did not have the skills, time, inclination, or means to assist their children with matters of education. Quite the reverse of growing up with parents who were secure in their marriages, displayed an open respect and love for one another, and had good job stability, the norm for these youths included families that were: foster, group home, single parent, step, an immediate or extended family member in custody, and parents with transient employment records or welfare recipients, the latter being strongly correlated as a contributing factor to criminal behaviour (Jankowski 1995). Compared with the direct access of information that I had on these student's educational backgrounds was the slightly more difficult process of corroborating the above information that I would be directly told by the inmates, via the indirect method of speaking with mental health specialists (psychologist and social worker) who held their mental health and social agency records, however, they generally confirmed the accuracy the information I obtained, which is further supported by the findings amongst the adult prison population (Hudson 1996; Hagan and Peterson 1995; Gabel and Johnston 1995). Additionally, there is evidential support demonstrating the strong connection between emotional and cognitive deficiencies. Perry and Pollard (1997) revealed that children who had come from homes where neglect had been firmly established,

had head circumferences that were quantitatively smaller than controls. When their brains were imaged via magnetic resonance, measurable loss was noted of billions of neurons. Similarly, children whose mothers had been diagnosed with depression early in the life of the child, evidenced persistent difficulties in school with significant cognitive deficits (Murray et al. 1991; Murray 1992). The emotional and social framework of the individual, then, together with an awareness by educational authorities of some of these factors that may cloud an ability and willingness to become active participants in their own scholastic achievement, cannot be overlooked when assessing an adolescent offender's academic difficulties.

II The Paranoid-Schizoid Position of the Institution

Using Klein's original term of the *Paranoid Position* (which she later amended to the *Paranoid-Schizoid Position* following the influences of Fairbairn) I propose that a number of personal experiences that I had while at this correctional facility demonstrated the extent to which the attitudes and general atmosphere that permeated the functioning of the institution, characterized this proposed stage of psychological maturation.

'Watch Your Back'

During the course of my work at the prison, it became entirely clear to the guards that I was more comfortable interacting with the inmates than the staff, an attitude which frequently aroused suspicion and derision. Though nothing was ever directly said, I was very much aware

of the expectation by the guards that I share in their contempt for the inmates, failing which I was considered to be *one of them*. Although it was the standard practise that I would count all of the pens that I would distribute before and after each class, occasionally a pen would be stolen from the room - this item being declared contraband as it was something that could be used as a weapon on the unit. On one such occasion I realized at the end of the day that one of my pens was missing. Rather than alert the staff to the missing article which would have involved a time-consuming individual cell search and possible lock-down of the entire unit, I delayed this declaration, feeling confident that I knew who the culprit was, and with whom I had a favourable relationship. I approached him on the unit and asked whether he had *borrowed* one of my pens. He grinned and declared that he had. When I asked if he had finished what he needed it for, he went to his cell, retrieved it, and returned it to me without incident. Fifteen minutes later after having returned to my room, a guard entered, demanding an explanation of what he had just witnessed on the unit. In an effort to defend the student I stated that I had simply loaned him the pen, and had forgot to retrieve it at the end of the class. The guard declared that having confronted the student after noting our exchange, the inmate had confessed that he had stolen it. I continued to insist that I had given him the pen. I was interrogated as to why I had not immediately alerted the unit when I was aware that a pen had gone missing. My answer, that I would have done so had I not successfully reclaimed the item within a few minutes of my discovering its absence, was not accepted, and I was verbally chastised for this apparent error in judgement. The following morning I found that this student had been removed from his cell and placed in a holding cell. He had been stripped and searched, and his cell dismantled in search of contraband. He and I spoke while in segregated confinement during

which he wanted to warn me. Apparently the guards had found two additional pens in his room whose origin he refused to divulge. More importantly, the interrogating officer had apparently attempted to extract a confession that the pens had come from me. When I asked my student where they had in fact come from he said with amusement that 'the psychologist is always good for a pen or two.' More importantly, this particular staff was wanting the student to confess that I was bringing drugs into the prison for the inmates. The dispensing of narcotics was concocted to occur through the pens. 'I don't know exactly why this guy has is it in for you man, but you'd better watch your back.' This was an inmate who was concerned about my safety. This was someone who could have saved himself at my expense but refused to. The guards considered it completely unfathomable that a student could steal a pen but then return it upon a polite request. Further, relationships between inmates and non-inmates were, for the most part, believed to be devoid of trust or any other mutual exchange of positive affect.

'Choke Out'

Sometimes, when I would show a film, inmates who were not enrolled in school were given the opportunity to attend. The guards were generally appreciative of this offer as it meant that the prisoners were in school rather than with them, hence, the absence of responsibility. One such time involved a student who, despite numerous attempts, I had eventually removed from school. He approached me to ask if he could attend the film. I stated that he could. Prior to the start of the film I was approached by a guard who questioned me about whether I had given this inmate permission to attend a film that was restricted to those enrolled in school. As this was

frequently a concession that had been granted in the past, I stated that I had for that reason. 'If you ever do that again I'll choke you out', was what I was told. The term *choke out* was used by the guards in connection with the inmates and referred to a form of restraint that involved a strangle-hold that resulted in unconsciousness. I chuckled, attempting to diffuse his apparent anger, but his intent was unequivocal when he stated 'I'm not kidding. If you ever do that again I will choke you out.' There were times when it was evident that the best way to deal with certain situations involving the staff was to adopt a deferential attitude without discussion and allow them to exercise their need for domination and control over those who were perceived to be a threat. What is also noteworthy is that this particular guard approached me approximately two weeks later to ask if an inmate who was not enrolled in school could attend the film being shown that afternoon. His volatility and outspoken aggression were highly respected amongst the other guards.

Crossing the Line

My pipeline for information generally came from the students. They would inform me about who had been transferred to where, how much time they would be serving, who was now serving an adult sentence in a different area of the prison, et cetera. I learned that two of my former students with whom I had spent a considerable amount of time, were now on the adult side. I decided to visit them. As I was about to enter the cell that they shared, the guards warned me that these young men were currently eating breakfast which included using metal utensils - the implication being that these were potential weapons that could be used against me.

I responded that they were former students with whom I was well acquainted, and that I had no concerns about my safety. The visit went much like a secondary school reunion, with enthusiastic handshakes being exchanged, and mutual inquiries being made about one another's lives, despite the circumstances. The following day I was called into the unit manager's office (in the course of my five years with the young offender unit there were seven different managers) during which I was politely asked about the reasons for my recent visit. Although the nature of the questioning was conducted in a very respectful and civilized manner, what was made clear was the degree of suspicion and upset that my actions had caused the staff at the prison. The inmates resided on one side of the line, so to speak, while those who were not were expected to function on the other. Any desire to cross that line, particularly in the context of friendly relations, upset the presumed state of order.

'Keep a Low Profile'

At the close of the 1998-99 school year it was my intention to expand the number of computers available in the classrooms, in addition to the level four areas. I acquired ten computers and four printers that were donated for this purpose. The following summer was used to design and implement a computer facility together with educational programs in the classrooms, as well as educational software games in each of the level four locations. Fortunately for the teaching staff who were, at best, computer novices, there was a young offender who was highly skilled in his knowledge of the installation of computer programs and could make many repairs and alterations necessary to achieve our goal. Following two months of using this student's expertise, about

which the staff were informed and aware, it was discovered following a routine search that this individual had hidden in his cell numerous computer parts, a steel rod fashioned into both a crow-bar and dagger, and a print copy of the names, addresses, and telephone numbers of various staff members. From this incident came the realization of the naivete of my thinking that the mere act of expressing trust and confidence in a very disturbed individual would automatically enable him to accept such gestures in an emotionally reciprocal manner that would negate the unconscious need for criminal activity and general behaviour that was self-damaging. Using the words selected by Bettelheim's for the title of his 1950 book, *Love Is Not Enough: The Treatment of Emotionally Disturbed Children*, it may be reiterated that, contrary to the attitudes of some well intentioned mental health providers, human compassion is not sufficient in itself to produce substantive change in a seriously disturbed population, and particularly where environmental conditions sustain pathological thinking.

On the morning of the incident, when it had been discovered that computer parts had been stolen from the classroom over some period of time, I was taken into the room of a senior administrator when I entered the building and advised 'To keep a low profile.' His message was delivered with a grin and was intended to alert me to the potential threat to my safety given the reactionary rage of the staff on the unit. Fortunately, the unit manager had the foresight to ask the staff how the offender was able to make repeated trips over a two month period from the classroom to his cell, during which he carried an assortment of items which ranged in size from moderate to extensive, with the journeys always involved a correctional officer's escort. Further, the question was asked about the observational skills of officers whose role it was to

oversee the behaviour of the inmates in the classroom for which a close-circuit monitor had been installed. In short, the unit manager's message was that the staff were well aware from the very beginning of this student's direct involvement with what had been proposed and accepted by the unit, as an upgrading of technological equipment in the classrooms, and that it was their responsibility that such an occurrence had taken place. Suffice it to say that the queries raised by the manager or the parties to whom responsibility was assigned, did not have the effect of ingratiating myself into the inner circle of the staff, and in the end, though not officially, I was held personally accountable for the incident.

The Intended Sting

My students arrived one afternoon with uncharacteristic academic enthusiasm as the majority of them were anxious to finish assignments that they had begun on the computer. Being somewhat taken aback by such eagerness I had failed to realize that I was short one computer for the number of students requiring them. However, the lone student politely asked if it would be possible to use my own computer, which sat on my desk. Having no information of a confidential nature stored on the hard drive, I raised no objections. In fact, I welcomed the opportunity to place a student in the *position of the teacher* wherein a sense of trust and shared authority would be bestowed rather than the conventional attitude surrounding a status that was generally felt to be governed by privileged control. This student was unquestionably excited about continuing an educational project (the writing of a short story) that I think it is safe to say, was a unique experience for him. Soon after the students had returned to the range the unit

manager entered my room and politely asked why a student had been sitting behind my desk. It should be noted that this particular individual was one of the few correctional authorities in management with whom I had a positive rapport and who held a genuine interest in the welfare of the inmates. Following my account he explained that one of the guards had been watching our room on the closed-circuit monitor for the entire afternoon. He suspected that the student would eventually attempt to steal various items from my desk drawers, and with that in mind, was currently conducting a strip-search of the student. When I asked why the staff had not merely telephoned to ask me to move the computer to a *safer* area when they observed a potentially dangerous situation being enacted, which could have been rectified by simply rotating the computer monitor on its base and moving the keyboard, no explanation could be given - he was only a messenger. The strip-search of the student produced nothing other than humiliation. He had done nothing but work on an assignment that would forever be tainted by this memory. The intention of the staff was not to prevent a crime, but to convict both a student and a teacher for their apparent alliance. Following the incident I went out into the yard to find and apologize profusely to this student for the entire event. While it did not seem to affect him as much as it did me, I often wondered whether, for him, this was just another example of how he had become accustomed to being treated in his young life, and whether in fact the incident had more of an impact than I will ever know.

Tears and Laughter

For four of the five years that I worked at the prison one of my teaching colleagues shared the

mentality of many of the guards. He was frequently sadistic and often treated the inmates with cruelty and disdain. Whenever a student acted in a manner which resulted in them being removed from the classroom, it had become the practise to later summon the student to that room which then contained several guards, the teaching staff, and a single chair reserved for the student. The purpose of the meeting was ostensibly to point out where the student had gone wrong in order that they mend their ways, but in fact what actually transpired was a barrage of reprimands and aggressive domination. The purpose of the guards presence was to physically restrain the inmate if they failed to assume to expected subservient role. On one such occasion a student was reduced to tears, the public demonstration of which rarely occurred amongst this hardened population. 'You should be helping me to rehabilitate myself instead of just yelling at me. I'm suppose to be getting rehabilitated' was the comment made by the student. He was promptly dismissed, following which the room erupted into raucous laughter. The meeting had been a success. As I write about this incident today I still recall the memory with clarity, and when I was leaving the prison some years later, and peered into the window of gymnasium to see the activity that the adult inmates were engaged in, this same young man, now serving time for crimes committed as an adult, came running over with basketball in hand, to say hello, and let me know that he was doing okay.

Soon after I started at the prison I remember a comment that was made by two of the guards which reflected their widespread attitude about the youths with whom they were confronted daily. 'We would all be saved a lot of time and money if we could just take him out back and shoot him in the head. He doesn't have any family or friends, and he just keeps coming back.

I mean it. It would save us all a lot of trouble and not a single person would give a shit.'

Similarly, my afternoon group and myself were being escorted to my room and I stopped at the door after the last student had entered. I had not had lunch yet and I questioned the guard about whether he thought my eating in front of the inmates would be upsetting since I had purchased food from a restaurant to which they obviously did not have access. 'Do whatever you want. Eat your lunch. Slap a few kids around. Whatever.' I firmly believe that such attitudes served the secondary gain of insulating the staff from what would otherwise have been an emotionally intolerable repetition of dealing with persons who they believed to have many of the same emotions as the persons in their lives for whom they held feelings of compassion. Further, given the unconscious motives behind such persons choosing to work with such a population, their own use of the splitting defence, and extensive use of projection and projective identification, the question may be asked as to how one could realistically contemplate the possibility of reform within a setting where such attitudes and behaviour prevailed?

Section D: Youth Crime and Qualitative Research, Discussion

The following information appears under subheadings that have a direct influence on young offenders and the proposed issue of treatment and rehabilitation. I begin by discussing the crucial difference between information that is acquired through conscious or cognitive processes, and that which is absorbed unconsciously or through a relational process in which emotional functioning becomes regulated. Second, the paradigm of behaviourism, followed by prescribed

treatment methodology is examined within the context of the malleability of the psychic structure. Third, some of the difficulties are outlined surrounding the use of treatment and incarceration for those who break the law. Fourth, an examination is made of the debate over legislated treatment for young offenders. Fifth, the increasing role of forensic psychotherapy as a treatment modality that may be used with the offending population will be addressed. Sixth, a discussion will be mounted about correctional institutions and the need for reform to address the psychological impairments of those in custody, in addition to the deleterious effects of traditional penal institutions. Finally, a case will be made for the potential role of the teacher to function in a therapeutic capacity with this population.

The Balance Between Scientific Empiricism and Emotional Intuition

The presumed absence of scientific credibility for psychoanalytic theory has placed it in the position of an interesting and obsolete psychological relic amongst many mental health professionals. In the early part of the twentieth century the physical science of the human brain, which included the minute neural mechanisms that in combination produce the ability to see, hear, think, and feel, was largely based on speculation, often presented as irrefutable statements since there was no concrete evidence with which to challenge them. Thus, interpreted within a classical psychoanalytic context, absurdities were made which included: seizures being covert expressions of orgasmic ecstasy; children who struggled with skills of reading and writing were interpreted as revenge on their parents who were felt to have banished them from the marital bed; and migraine headaches were indicative of disclosing sexual phantasies of rape (Dolnick

1998). However, in the latter half of the twentieth century the presumed preeminence of repressed sexual urges as the cause of emotional matters acceded to the efficacy of pharmacology. For example, drugs used in the treatment of tuberculosis were observed to also have beneficial effects on improving people's mood, and soon after this discovery, the use of antidepressants burgeoned. From the finding that lithium made guinea pigs docile, chemists had surreptitiously found a treatment for bi-polar disorder. Microscopic molecules, when ingested into the brain, had the capacity to ameliorate delusions, limit depression, stabilize mood swings, and lessen anxiety. However, the displacement of the initial widespread acceptance of Freudian accounts of emotional suffering created a void in the desire to understand our frequent struggle to love and be loved. And while it has been repeatedly stated throughout this thesis that there are analysts whose specific views address these relational quandaries, there have been persistent obstacles impeding the awareness of the origin of this perennial problem.

Historically, there has been a significant correlation between a model of the mind that exudes scientific rigour, and the extent to which it is emotionally cold and alienating. Behaviourism was the first to apply the standard of empiricism, unabashedly dismissing or ignoring that which could not be directly observed, which included thought and passion. Reward and punishment served as the trade-mark tools with which to best shape (and control) human behaviour. Behaviourists advised parents that responding immediately to a crying infant rewarded such distress with attention, which was thought to function, ultimately, to reinforce and promote incessant complaining. An influential figure within this school of thought, Watson (1928) advocated that 'Mother love is a dangerous instrument' (p.38), the thinking being that demonstrable signs of

affection by parents for their children might easily transform healthy children into persons incapable of self reliance. 'Never hug and kiss them. Never let them sit in your lap. If you must, kiss them once on the forehead when they say goodnight' (1928, p. 57-8). 'It is a serious question in my mind whether there should be individual homes for children - or even whether children should know their own parents. There are undoubtedly much more scientific ways of bringing up children' (p. 79).

Soon this advancement in the behavioural sciences followed the insights of cognitive psychology which linked perception to action, but deliberately avoided the emotional foundation around which our lives are built. Likewise, although evolutionary psychology has provided some insight into the ancestral workings of our primitive psyche, it fails to address areas other than those directly associated with survival, namely, the more amorphous qualities of kindness, empathy, compassion, trust, friendship, and love. Neuroscience may be assigned the unwanted distinction of reducing humans to their particular molecular structure, beings without souls. Thus, it might be asked that if someone is depressed following the loss of a beloved pet, is this an indication of a severed bond of attachment that it has a physiological effect, or is it merely a case of faulty chemistry? When venturing into the bonds of human love, the uncompromising empiricist will have little to study or discuss. The intensity of the cry of the child who is removed from its mother and the inarticulate yearnings for reunion, the passionate exchange of mutual devotion between those in love, the strength of a mother's selfless devotion, the anguish following the loss of loved one - all are responses that defy objectivity's commitment to assign them a particular gene or collection of identifiable cells. In spite of the indispensable lessons of science, only

someone with an admixture of sound evidence in conjunction with a intuitive grasp of the human condition, can yield an accurate awareness of the emotional mind. To avoid the error of participating in empty scientific reductionism or unfounded fancy, respect must be established for both what is known and has been proven, as well as common sense and an aversion to conventional wisdom.

I agree with the perception that the conditions of maximum security facilities for young offenders serves more as a function of retribution rather than restoration (Leschied, 1995). Treatment modalities are questioned, however, if they operate on the assumption that therapeutic success can be achieved exclusively through the conscious acquisition of skills, training, information, and manipulation of environmental conditions that overtly evoke or extinguish specific behaviour. Some of these approaches are conducted on the premise that provided an individual, together with their presenting symptoms are directed to one or more of these orientations; they can be *taught* or *reprogrammed* to adopt more favourable attitudes and behaviour. For example, if they receive the proper kinds of social skills through modelling and discussions, positive interpersonal relations can be facilitated; if they are exposed to appropriate anger management techniques, inflammatory responses can be controlled and contained; if the chemical and physiological dependency effects of substance abuse can be learned and the habit extinguished or managed through aversive conditioning, contingency contracting, and cognitive management training, then the lowered inhibitions with respect to certain behaviour when under the influence can be curbed; if they engage in certain vocational and lifestyle activities, criminal patterned activity can be prevented or diverted; if they acquire cognitive problem solving strategies, alternative choices

to negative behaviour can be selected which serve in their favour; if parents can be instructed how to condition their children's behaviour and vice versa, conduct disordered behaviour can be arrested; or if offenders learn to empathize with the victims of their crimes, they will become more aware of the damaging effects of their behaviour on others. All of these approaches are recognized, accepted and used as reasonable means through which to accomplish the identified goal of reducing and eliminating antisocial behaviour. Behavioural and cognitive approaches offer a way in which socially appropriate behaviour is reinforced, and certain kinds of thinking surrounding delinquent behaviour is examined and clarified (Brown 1985; McAdam 1986). Such systematic approaches provide a useful strategy for many adolescents who lack their own internal sense of structure and order. Nevertheless, what is argued is that adolescents who persist in delinquent behaviour require not only clear structure and direction in their daily lives, but also the process of working through the emotional antecedents which precipitate their criminal activities. If we accept that disturbances in development, which chronic criminal activity is taken to reflect, are the result of unintentional failures of parents to meet the emotional, social, and economic needs of such persons, failures which subsequently serve as negative emotional substance which affect individual functioning, then therapeutic interventions that omit the need to work through developmental arrests within an object relational context, will be limited.

Western culture seems to embrace the idea that our children can be taught the missing emotional information they are lacking, in the same way that we can impart to them the facts of geometry or correct spelling through our educational institutions. It has been asserted that emotional learning wanes appreciably after adolescence and while it does not stop, it slows. Infancy and

childhood are the periods in which the unconscious structure is chiselled into pliable but firm patterns, while subsequent experience yields a weaker influence on the evolving adolescent. Emotional information which is introduced following childhood, will, to a large extent, reinforce the unconscious foundation and belief systems that have already been constructed. New information that runs counter to previously established unconscious dictates of *necessary conduct* will meet with staunch resistance, regardless of whether these previous structures have a personally harmful effect or the newly offered information could ameliorate such destructive patterns (Lewis et al. 2000 pp. 163-64).

If a child receives proper nurturance, it will learn, unconsciously, that love is equated with safety, protection, loyalty, trust, sacrifice, et cetera, and will interact with others accordingly. They know this, not because they were told it, or received instruction on how to love, but because they *feel* it on the basis of their relations with others. Alternatively, if they have emotionally unhealthy parents, their unconscious patterning will equate love with anxiety, anger, humiliation, frustration, among other life thwarting emotions. Therapeutic programs are criticized if they are administered without addressing the issue of formative experiences on the psychic structure, and the extent to which various forms of criminal behaviour may be understood at the time of their initial construction and occurrence, as an unconscious response to conditions which were and are personally threatening. Even though it may be agreed that such behaviours are for the most part self-destructive, they serve an emotional function that overt attempts to provide more *constructive* alternatives, often overlook. To suggest that the complexities of emotional development can be remedied through some form of overt pedagogical rehabilitation would seem

to erroneously equate cognition with emotion.

Isolated Behavioural Symptoms versus Systemic Psychic Structure

While behaviourists might argue that the elimination or modification of unwanted symptomatic behaviour is itself evidence of success, object relations theorists might debate the validity and ability to isolate specific behaviours since these are understood as only one of a myriad of possible responses to relational disturbance. To target one specific behaviour, for example, child molestation, exhibitionism, physical or sexual assault, drug and alcohol abuse, or theft, as *the* problem, is to overlook the systemic nature of individual pathology. Some of the afore noted treatment programs for offenders with crimes involving sex, substance abuse, property, or violence, appear to presuppose that for the most part these are persons whose difficulties may be reduced to this particular behavioural facet of their lives. The assumption is that provided the salient aberrant behaviour is identified and treated, they will be in a good position to manage the rest of their lives. In other words, aside from the specific identified offending behaviour or attitude, these are emotionally healthy individuals that research has shown to be readily amenable to treatment. What this either neglects or severely understates is the severity of the intrapsychic problems of individuals who manifest such disturbances. In the case of abusive relationships, for example, Jukes (1999) emphasises the extent to which the abuser cannot retain any belief which supports the notion that their violence is the primary problem, instead, it must be seen as symptomatic of a larger system of social and political inequality (to which I would add, unconscious familial object relational structure) which he feels fosters relational pathology

between men and women (p. 87). If much of our behaviour is understood to be an unconscious response to the manner in which ones emotional, social, and economic needs were addressed, responded to, and provided for during dependency, then despite being accepted as something that may be positively influenced by various intervention strategies, psychoanalytic psychotherapy does not support the idea that behaviour is so readily malleable that the psychic foundation on which it is premised can be altered, shaped, or otherwise controlled through what are often a limited series of externally imposed mechanisms focussed entirely at a conscious level.

Prepackaged Treatment

It is further claimed that *prescription cures* or *scripted treatment*, that is, ready-made solutions for emotional issues, overlook the essence of emotional change that evolves via object relations. It is the uniqueness of the therapeutic relationship, together with the therapist's consistent reliability, interest, support, and emotional connectedness, that facilitates change. It is not through the therapist's affective neutrality, but neither is it through an emotional collusion with the views of the patient, that facilitates growth. It is a balancing act on an emotional tight rope in which the therapist enters into the unconscious world of one person while remaining firmly grounded in their own, with each exchange affecting the other, both influencing each, with one discovering new possibilities via emotional exchange. To lecture on the ill effects of substance abuse, the dangers of unprotected sex, the impact on victims of violence, the evils of social mayhem, the importance of education, to name some, directly targets cognitive learning through

the neocortical brain, but fails to address the emotional basis for such behaviour. Emotional structure is not something that can be quickly renovated like the removal of an offending wall. Contrary to the growing trend of psychological treatment using a restricted number of sessions, the skill of becoming and remaining attuned to another's emotional rhythms requires a solid investment of time which can not be compressed. Some would argue (Lewis et al. 2000) that three sessions is no different from no sessions, while I would suggest that in many cases no sessions would be better than a few. We would consider it inconceivable for a surgeon to commence an operation, only to leave following the initial incision, and yet we seem to be of the attitude, using this analogy, that it is acceptable within an emotional operating theatre. What realistic substantive gains do we believe are possible in short order? Although far less graphic than the surgical image, I would propose that considerable damage can occur from implicitly providing a patient with the opportunity to unburden themselves of their emotional anguish, only for the process to be terminated following a cursory beginning. While both patient and therapist may tacitly engage in an economic collusion as the reason for cessation, to do so prostitutes the therapeutic process.

Mollon (1989) highlights what he characterizes to be the inadequacies of the training of clinical psychologists. As a general statement, he notes that such training does not prepare the individual for the fact that they may have to deal with another's overwhelming trauma and despair, which in the course of the therapeutic process may generate transference reactions that can be deeply disturbing and incapacitating to the uninformed clinician (p. 9). He distinguishes between what he calls *learning from experience* in the apprenticeship mode which characterizes

medicine and psychotherapy (as well as personal analysis), and *learning from research* which characterizes clinical psychology (West 1998, pp. 230-31). The latter approach ‘. . . does not recognize authority based on experience but rather assesses the value of an opinion in terms of the cleverness of the research strategy; it can foster a tendency to learn from the literature rather than personally from the teachers’ (Mollen, 1989, p. 8).

Instead of completing an apprentice’s journey with the required time to learn and grow and acquire gradually an authentic professional identity based on skills and understanding, developed bit by bit through struggle and some emotional pain, the trainee too soon becomes the autonomous, omnipotent professional walking confidently around the unit but inwardly feeling fraudulent (Mollon 1989, cited in West 1998, p. 231).

Further, rather than the capacity to contain or tolerate one’s own countertransference which can advance the understanding of a patient’s unconscious functioning, Watts and Morgan (1994) point out how unconscious countertransference hate may give rise to well rationalized but destructive acting out by carers. ‘Knowing which patients provoke these feelings and how staff deal with the feelings is crucial to understanding the alienation process’ (p. 12). Given the particular difficulties associated with the forensic patient it would appear useful to be aware of the powerful and not infrequent urge to reject and abandon such persons, which is potentially destructive (Karban and West 1994).

Treatment versus Incarceration

There are a number of compelling reasons in favour of treating offenders for the crimes they have committed rather than merely isolating them from society, not the least of which is the fact

that the vast majority of them will eventually be released. Until this time it would seem prudent that we direct our efforts toward ensuring not only the safety of the public through the use of incarceration where deemed necessary, but at the same time improve the chances that offenders will not re-offend when they regain their freedom. It is common amongst the public and correctional authorities to attribute blame to the offender for which punishment should follow. The emphasis is placed on punitive measures that are regarded necessary for penitence and reform, despite the fact that we know that this is generally not the case as evidenced in the rate of recidivism. The question may be raised, then, as to why, despite the volume of research demonstrating the favourable outcome of treatment for offenders, do such efforts receive comparatively weak support compared with the practise of incarceration? From a psychoanalytic perspective, Bromberg (1948) believed that people's unconscious feelings dominate their attitudes toward criminals. 'The normal individual expels his own hostile tendencies from consciousness, transforms them into community mores and heaps them on a scapegoat - the criminal' (p. 52). Similarly, Mollon (1988) notes that the criminal represents a concrete example of a person who has actually acted upon similar thoughts and feelings about which we experience guilt and anxiety, and are therefore motivated to loath and reject (p. 19). In this sense, criminals serve the purpose of providing society with a target on which we can unload the offensive contents of our own unconscious. It is the unconscious fear of and need to vilify such persons, which impairs therapeutic endeavours.

To help. . .(one) must study the nature of the emotional burden which the psychiatrist bears in doing his work. . .However much he loves his patients he cannot avoid hating them and fearing them, and the better he knows this the less will hate and fear be the motive determining what he does to his patients (Winnicott 1949b, cited in West 1998, p. 229).

Assessment

There is a clear need to go beyond any self-reported information by the forensic patient in which the issues of reliability and validity may be called into question. It needs to be recognized that there are frequently forceful ulterior motives behind an offender accepting assessment and treatment. For example, treatment being agreed to as an alternative to a prison sentence, used as an avenue towards earlier release, or the recommendation for parole, are some of the problems described by Dell and Robertson (1988) that could potentially taint the therapeutic process. Such difficulties which corrupt the sincerity of motivation for reform must form an integral part of the assessment process. A clinical observation approach by a team of professionals is recommended over an ambulant examination, since the former allows for the opportunity to observe certain recurrent patterns which should include how the individual interacts with others over time, the choices made with whom to socialize, and the identification of certain transference phenomenon (Marle, H.V. 1998, pp. 37-45). Beyond such observational considerations is the additional need to evaluate the extent of the individual's psychological health, including the immediate members of the family (and grandparents), linguistic competence, and sub-culture in which they are living. The individual, the family, and the social environment, then, are central elements in the assessment process. Freud noted that 'We cannot judge the patient who comes for treatment (or, in the same way, the candidate who comes for training) till we have studied him analytically for a few weeks or months' (1933, p. 191). Even in spite of a poor prognosis it cannot be said with absolute certainty that with certain modifications to the standard rules by which psychotherapy operates, and changes in the expectations of the

therapeutic process, that gains cannot be made. It is entirely possible that if some insight is achieved into a causal emotional chain leading to a particular pattern of criminal behaviour, that this chain may be broken. Studies involving patients with borderline personality disorders, for example, (Fonagy 1991; Fonagy et al. 1993; Gunderson 1985) provide some optimism on the basis that while initially such individuals were seen to be emotionally impaired and incapable of introspection, such functions were improved through the course of psychotherapeutic treatment.

It may also be stated that any developmental process of a life will require that certain essential ingredients occur at various critical periods, without which a desirable outcome will fail. The greater the number of omissions and impairments throughout the course of development, the greater and more inevitable the risk of failure. The same is felt to be true for emotional growth. Just as Freud (1933) recognized that physicians must accept the reality that some patients will die despite efforts to ameliorate pathological states, a similar recognition may be said to be true in terms of the limitations faced by certain persons who are the victims of extreme forms of emotional abuse. To use a medical analogy, we are well aware that there are certain malignant growths that are not accessible to merely increasing the volume and intensity of radiation exposure, and consequently, our efforts become focussed on palliative care and containing the symptoms and pain of the individual in question. There will always be persons who are victimized to the point where the necessary psychic development for law abiding behaviour may have been permanently stunted and malformed. In conjunction with what he identifies as contra-indications to psychotherapy, Malan (1979) describes 'a fundamental law of psychotherapeutic forecasting', namely that, 'In intensive psychotherapy, a therapist always runs the risk of making

a patient as disturbed as she (or he) has ever been in the past, or more so' (p. 220). The point is that we should always be mindful there will be some individuals for whom the severity of their past histories, their restricted level of communication, and the limitations of the therapeutic setting that is available, would render them either poor candidates for psychotherapy, or the undertaking of such a process would be assessed to contain more risks than benefits.

. . . if violence is to be understood as the reciprocal manifestation of attachment gone wrong, the treatment of those who resort to socially destructive behaviour requires a capacity to give as well as the humility to know when therapy itself may simply not suffice to give a patient a 'good enough attachment experience' to let go of the need to be 'bad'. It may well be in some patients' interest to remain 'bad' (Zulucta 1998, p. 185).

Legislated Treatment

There has been fervent debate on the subject of the Young Offenders Act since its inception in 1982. Leschied and Jaffe, directors of the London (Ontario, Canada) Family Court Clinic (1986, 1988) and Leschied and Gendreau (1993, 1994) have argued extensively over the last decade that a major weakness with the young offenders act is that the philosophy of respecting the individual rights of each youth entitles them to decline a *recommendation* from the court for psychological treatment. They espouse that a young person who suffers from an emotional disorder, and is likewise cognitively immature, will not be in a position to make sound decisions regarding their own best interests. They note that:

Counselling for children, as for adults, is frequently a conflicting and difficult process that may create crises. Ambivalence is common. The urge to flee or avoid conflicting situations, so frequently characteristic of young offenders requiring treatment, is among the reasons often cited in the need for treatment. The treatment process requires a high degree of commitment, which, when absent, can be supplemented by an unwavering

order from the court to compel the young person to attend the appropriate treatment (Leschied and Jaffe 1986, p. 313).

Implied within the proposal for legislated treatment is the belief that psychological growth and symptomatic change can be obtained without a patient's willingness to participate. Provided the individual is required to attend and complete whatever treatment modality is recommended, without the liberty to refuse or abandon therapeutic intervention, the prospect for psychological gain is felt to be favourable. In this sense, it might be argued that an inverse relationship should exist between the rights and freedoms of an offender, and the removal of those rights for the safety and protection of others, as well as themselves (Sheindlin et al. 1998). It has also been noted that the earlier an individual is recognized for evidence of psychological disturbance, the more favourable the outcome following intervention (Eastman and Rozen 1994). The educational histories of the majority of youth with whom I worked contained volumes of information attesting to concerns related to behaviour, education, and family from the time that they had first entered the school system. They had not, in the majority of cases, suddenly appeared.

I am in agreement that Canada's YOA does little in the way of addressing the psychological disturbances evidenced by youth, and yet the proposal that mandatory treatment be part of a youth's sentence or condition of release challenged much of my initial impressions of such youths. The majority of these persons with whom I dealt made it quite clear that the primary reasons for enrolling in rehabilitation programs while in custody was (a) to improve their chances for early release by appearing favourable on their predisposition report, (b) prompted by the

advice of their lawyer, (c) to achieve merit points and the concomitant perquisites of the penal institution, and (d) to make their time pass more quickly. On numerous occasions a student would ask me to help them write a letter to a judge in which they wanted to 'Kiss ass in a major way!' (express a servile, repentant tone) and highlight their participation in treatment programs while in detention, with the hope that leniency would ensue. The desire to ameliorate an internal sense of emotional pain *appeared* to be lacking from any therapeutic involvement since these persons' actions and attitudes seemed to be ego syntonic rather than ego alien. I am also inclined to argue, however, that the apparent absence of emotional conflict and psychological unease in these adolescents, which would ordinarily serve as a catalyst for emotional intervention, was present and strongly defended against.

While at the conscious level there may have been the absence of any desire for change, at the unconscious level it may be proposed that there was an intensity of suffering and pain about which they had difficulty tolerating. Beneath the veneer of expressed bravado and rejection of societal values was the inner anguish and shame of their past from which they were attempting to defend, escape, and would act out through criminal behaviour. Their defensive mechanisms would include the frequent use of omnipotence, projective identification, denial, idealization, and splitting (Bateman 1998, p. 48). Criminal behaviour by the adolescent is understood to be primarily an attack on societies accepted values and norms. Its main purpose is to defy those who uphold it and unconsciously represent the original authority figures who frustrated and impaired their developmental needs thereby resulting in mental suffering. Winnicott (1984) viewed the delinquent act as indicative that some form of hope remained, to the extent that their

acting upon the external environment was interpreted as a coded announcement to the world of their attempts to alleviate their inner feelings of hopelessness, inadequacy and despair. 'Paradoxically, the delinquent act is one of despair and of hope; despair, of ever achieving direct gratification or acknowledgement; yet hope, in the possibility that, through the doing of the act, something good will come of it.' (Wilson and Farquharson 1998, p. 317). It was not uncommon for a number of these boys to have the initials F.T.W. (Fuck The World) tattooed on their bodies, the most original location to which I was made aware by one of my favourite student's, being on the inside of his lower lip, but more specific and written in full, 'Fuck You'). This student, along with many others who I felt a particular fondness for, made it clear that they held a significant respect for me, despite our radically different backgrounds. I knew many times that when I was talking with them I saw a reflection of who I could imagine myself to have been, but for a variety factors I had the good fortune to avoid. The adolescent offender's apparent inability to tell the truth may be as much a reflection of their confusion and panic surrounding the painful reality of their past versus the more protected world of fantasy. Because of their life experiences they are compelled to dismiss, or at best, be apprehensive of any offer of help, and be frightened of the dependency that such efforts would involve. 'They are caught between powerful longings to be cared for, yet intense feelings of hostility to those who may provide care' (p. 321).

Employment Training and Rehabilitation

Although the majority of my students did not display a particular interest in formal academic

material, they did show an aptitude and desire to become involved in job training skills that required a direct *hands-on* approach to learning. The acquisition of employment skills through apprenticeship programs constitutes an additional component in the therapeutic process that can further elevate a devalued sense of self. Such an endeavour must not, however, be confused as a substitute for the emotional investment into the reasons why, for example, many of my students would denounce what they viewed as the mundane elements of regular employment over the comparative benefits of theft. It is proposed that the magnitude of their material demands was a direct reflection of the degree of their emotional deprivation. Their unconscious illusion of emotional fulfilment being achieved through material means superceded their ability to cope with the frustrations entailed from the limitations of reality which could not be rectified solely through improved employability. The point is that proposed therapeutic programs cannot operate in isolation of an awareness of the emotional, social, and economic structure from which the offender has come and is likely to return.

Forensic Psychotherapy

The treatment literature indicates that there are a litany of therapeutic alternatives from which those who commit criminal offences may benefit. Psychoanalytic psychotherapy, or more specifically, forensic psychotherapy, which consists of a blending of forensic psychiatry and psychoanalytic theory, represents a small but increasingly important ingredient in the therapeutic process of the offender. Here, the focus is on understanding the individual unconscious meaning of the offender's behaviour. The purpose is neither to condone nor excuse the individual, but

to facilitate the acknowledgement of their responsibility for such acts and thereby protect both themselves and society from additional crimes. The psychological trauma and victimization of such individuals holds centre stage in teasing apart the antecedents of what for them is generally a restricted capacity for empathy, unhealthy attachments and relationships, low self-esteem, and destructive behaviour toward others, property, and ultimately themselves. Criminal behaviour is understood as a psychological defence against emotional turmoil which, through the establishment of a therapeutic alliance, the elements of transference and countertransference may be worked through. Such emotions as unresolved anger, fear, and resentment are provided a forum in which, for the first time, the unique opportunity exists to express thoughts and feelings without reprisal. Some of this information will undoubtedly be related to their criminal acts, but within a context that provides the chance to engage in prior consideration and self reflection on behavioural patterns, thereby offering the possibility for insight and the adoption of healthier alternatives. Criminality is viewed as both a statement about the specifics of an individual's formative treatment, and a symptom of it, which can easily become a chronic way of life with its own secondary gains that will be derived from the primary need for acceptance and a sense of belonging, even if it is to a criminal sub-culture. It is in the context of the therapeutic relationship, then, that the offender will be expected to re-enact the internalized dynamics of his family members which provided the necessary conditions for criminal behaviour, gradually recover from his formative traumatic experiences, and develop the capacity to establish more positive attachments and relationships with other persons and objects. '... there is an increasing recognition of the desperate need for specialist psychotherapy provision in settings of maximum security' (Department of Health 1992).

Emotional Growth and Time

We live in a society that champions intellect over emotion when faced with personal problems. We are accustomed, when acknowledging a problem, to identify it, and focus our efforts toward an efficient and expedient solution. Logic and deduction, because they are observed to yield such striking results, are presumed the master keys that open all doors. The supremacy of our emotional map - our ingrained, relentless unconscious patterning which by definition is neither rational nor logical - prevents linear thought and reason from gaining a foothold on emotional salvation. The sheer volume and variety of self-help material in book stores and libraries is a testament to both people's desire for emotional redemption as well as their inability to obtain it through a manual. Our culture applauds devices, methodology and practises that reflect speed and efficiency; it has little patience for processes that are slow, time consuming, expensive, and devoid of expedient measurable results. Internet access is expected to be faster and uninterrupted, personal computers more powerful, cell-phones more compact but longer ranging, instantly prepared foods without compromising health, daily mineral and vitamin requirements in a pill, and we expect that the same should apply to emotional growth and change.

Healing through relationships never was meant to be and never will be fast. One does not absorb emotional modulation in the same way that the multiplication or periodic tables are learned. An individual's emotional architecture evolves slowly over time in conjunction with the significant figures on whom they are dependent and interact. It is interesting that when it comes to such things as the achievement of a comprehensive education, the development of a concert pianist,

the staged apprenticeship of a skilled surgeon, the transition from infant to child to adolescent to adult, or even the sustained growth of mutual fund investments, we fully accept the time, energy, and investment that are required and would be amused at the idea that such accomplishments could be realized otherwise; however, when it comes to issues of an emotional nature, speed is the guiding principle. Why? A therapeutic relationship is neither a drug, nor an operation, and as such it carries minimal weight in western medicine. There is no shortage of evidence to show that a human relationship is a physiological process, without which the quality of the life of a mammal will be seriously compromised. It is not that our medical system, which consists primarily of physicians, is unaware of the effects of attachment and bonding on the physical and mental health of others, but that this concept appears too vague and lacks the potent force of a pill or surgical procedure, despite the research which demonstrates that is not just infants and children who experience the physiological effects of attachment and isolation. We know, for example, that the menstrual cycles of women who share the same flat, will gradually, over time, synchronize with one another. A spouse may experience the effects of sleep disturbances when their partner is away. Likewise, reduced immune systems during such absences may result in colds or viruses that would otherwise be fought off. Appetites may change from diminished to increased. A menstrual cycle may be delayed due to the stress that an absence may induce. And moods rarely go unaffected.

It is interesting that the highly respected European medical journal *The Lancet* published an article in 1994 which sought to address the problem of situations when physicians felt an aversion to the sufferings of their patients. What was proposed was that they be taught how to

act like they cared when in fact they did not. The goal was to provide doctors with the means to dramatize concern for patients for whom the damaging effects of this incapacity were evident. 'We would suggest that if physicians do feel antipathy [toward patients] they should at least act as if they cared' (Finestone and Conter 1994, p. 801). Such efforts ignore the physiological effects of emotional connectedness. Accordingly, good bedside manner is regarded as an expendable practice which includes a perfunctory exchange whose goal is to offer reassurance, after which the more essential elements which constitute actual science can be acted upon. Western medicine has been impressed by the results of intricate tests and complex procedures, such that the healing power of relationships appear less dramatic or awe-inspiring. Here, the efficacy of medical machinery have been embraced while diminishing the emotional core of humans in affirming life. Berkman et al. (1992) report the death rate for heart attack victims tripled if the patient was living alone or devoid of family support and friends. Similarly, Friedman and Thomas (1995) and Friedman et al. (1980) found that the death rate amongst cardiac patients who owned dogs ranged between seventeen and twenty-five percent less than those who did not. The lifespan of women diagnosed with metastatic breast cancer doubled for those who had undergone group psychotherapy (Spiegel et al. 1989), Colon et al. (1991) found that leukemia patients with strong social support had two year survival rates twice that of those without. Ornish (1998) concluded from his survey of the medical literature on the relationship between isolation and human mortality that solitary people are three to five times more likely to die prematurely than people living with caring spouses, relatives, friends, and community support. And if we focus on the parent as the pivotal figure in developing (or arresting) the child's emotional growth through the quality of care it provides, the emotional vaccine against

both physical and emotional distress, then we risk arousing guilt and anxiety. The social and personal effects of not accepting such facts however are catastrophic (Lewis et al. 2000). If we are to be realistically optimistic in our efforts to bring about emotional change in a young adult whose psychic structure is already relatively solidified, I would argue that approaches which imply rapid success may be misleading and possibly psychologically naive. Freud was well aware of '...the reproach against analytic treatment that it takes a disproportionately long time. On this it must be said that psychical changes do in fact only take place slowly; if they occur rapidly, suddenly, that is a bad sign' (1933, p. 191). If psychological growth is going to be facilitated through a human interactive process, which psychotherapy entails, with an individual for whom the conditions of mistreatment have been established as the norm, it will not do so in short order. In keeping with the spirit of overnight success it may be asked: 'When emotional problems arise, is a steady diet of Ritalin for children and Prozac for adults to be our only national response' (Lewis et al. 2000, p. 10)?

The financial costs of the two principle emotional states being treated in North America, depression and anxiety, exceed fifty billion dollars annually (Lewis et al. 2000, p. 211) which pales in comparison with the emotional price of those persons seeking help, in addition to growing numbers who struggle without. Since 1960 the rate of suicide amongst adolescents has more than tripled, with this being listed as the leading cause of death for this population (Singh and Yu 1996). One third of North American children are currently raised in mother-only households, and likewise, one half of all youth will live in a single-parent home before reaching their eighteenth birthday (pp. 203-4). Wallerstein and Kelly (1980) note that in a five year

follow-up study of parents and children who had experienced divorce, rates of depression were four times the norm for both the children and parents. While such evidence may further the challenge to what is claimed by some to be the historical oppression of women through the structure of the nuclear family, the argument here is that parents who receive inadequate love have less of it to give. The presence of two parents is not an evolutionary accident. Because parenting is a responsibility that involves giving in the form of time, attention, patience, guidance, play, and thought, which en masse we term *love*, it has always been intended to be delivered through two persons. Each of them deliver emotional sustenance to an other, their child, as well to one other, in order that a balance may be established between the depletion of their emotional reserves which are an inextricable part of the role of a parent, as well as the restoration of these energies from the love of the partner with whom this task is shared. Parents need each other as much as their children need them. And yet, in a growing number of families the burden of responsibility is shouldered by one figure. The spouse who receives support from their mate but fails to reciprocate in kind, will ultimately lose, as will their children, as their partner will be unable to continue to fulfill the requirements of emotional delivery if they do not receive them themselves

The Teacher as Therapist

The students that I worked with at the prison were all taken to be individuals who had grown up through some form and combination of emotional, social, and economic impoverishment and general mistreatment. Given the relatively short period of time with which I had to spend with

the majority of them (four to six weeks), coupled with the punitive surroundings, attitudes, and treatment where they were housed, I was under no illusion that any substantive changes could occur. Nevertheless, I found that they were quite responsive to the many informal practises and beliefs that I used, based on personal experience, general psychoanalytic principles, and object relational material. Given that the teacher was the single individual with whom the inmates had the most amount of contact each day (up to four hours), a reasonable case could be made for the potential, given the proper training and environmental conditions, that this person could have with respect to achieving a positive therapeutic influence.

Freud was rather negative about psychoanalysis being used as a treatment method for the criminal population since he regarded the superego as a fundamental feature of all analysis, this being, in part, the product of the suppression of our instinctual aggressive and narcissistic inclinations. He felt that the person who failed to suppress such basic desires would therefore become a social outcast or *criminal*. Following Aichhorn's (1935) train of thought, I viewed the difficulties of my students' failure to progress from the pleasure principle to the reality principle, in conjunction with a deformed superego, to be the result of a variety of parental failures. Consequently, they had been unable to renounce the infantile need for immediate gratification, could not adopt socially acceptable avenues to fulfill personal wishes, had internalized a disturbed set of parental norms, and were entrenched in defensive behaviour to their treatment and surroundings. Similar to Aichhorn's description of the therapist *seducing* the delinquent into the treatment process, it became my goal to ensure that students were provided with classroom conditions and expectations that were foreign to any educational

experience they had had in the past, or, to use Winnicott's language, were provided with a *facilitating environment*.

I was locked in a room for four hours a day, with up to ten adolescents who had a general mistrust and hatred toward the world. Having attained an age when they were legally entitled to withdraw from school, they were under no formal obligation to continue with their education. I began by making it clear that I would respect their decision to come to my class without the intent of completing any formal school work. In short, their acceptance into my classroom was not based on the need to work. Alternatively, I would provide them with a series of choices which were intended to be sufficiently acceptable and within their level of ability so as to neither frustrate nor humiliate them, while at the same time providing them with a sense of inner control over how their educational time would be spent. Such options included letter writing to a friend or family member (with which I would provide editorial assistance at their request), high interest novel reading strictly for pleasure (which could be taken back to their cells), newspaper and magazine reading, as well as conventional academic material. I would continuously offer students *deals* in which they could use part of what they regarded as *non educational material*, i.e., the newspaper, as part of the material that would go toward a portion of their credit. The idea here was maximize the degree to which they felt they were in control of their own education, and minimize what would be unconsciously viewed as authoritative demands that evoked a defensive response of attack or rejection.

Many of these students had been repeatedly removed from the classrooms and schools they had

attended because they were unable to conform to (accept) the standards or persons within that environment. The intention was to create a minimal number of requirements and expectations which they felt were reasonable and would accept. There were inevitably times of disagreement over, say, the amount of discussion that was going on within the class, and accordingly, the returning of a student to the range was always attempted in such a way that they felt minimally rejected. This was often difficult since it was the policy of the guards to lock a student in their cell when they were removed from the classroom. However, I would often couple the removal of a student with a piece of candy, symbolically linking separation with acceptance, which although somewhat confusing, was generally accepted if it was preceded with a discussion about why I was sending the student back. Further, working in opposition to the guards, I would often invent a ruse for the student that they could use in order to avoid being confined to their cell. A student would be allegedly sent back, for example, because 'He was wanting to do some work independently on the range where there is less distraction.' Such a student would be encouraged to become aware that it was not my intention to punish them, but to restore order to a class where the others could pursue their activities without interruption. I would often tell a guard with whom I had a reasonable relationship that the student being returned should not be locked in their cell because their behaviour in no way warranted being locked up. This too added to an awareness on the part of the students that I did not serve to fulfil a punitive role but to represent a potentially good object.

The use of games, for example, *Scrabble*, was something to which the students responded quite favourably. Here the strengthening of ego development through play; emotional containment

(frustration, loss, and chance); advancement through object relations (team partnerships); primary rewarding of attempts to achieve personal goals (all participants received chocolate bars); and the sharing of a common set of rules (emotional structure), and cognitive growth (direct instruction and mutual support from both the teacher and students), operated throughout each game.

Novels were selected on the basis of what was felt to be material that the students would enjoy rather than what educational authorities had decided they should be reading. Here, the goal was to provide students with the opportunity to select for themselves material that spoke to their inner world in a way to which they could unconsciously relate, and that the literary classics had yet to achieve. Given the confines of the prison I was restricted in terms of acceptable selections and yet I was able to choose a number of best sellers that inspired many of the most reluctant readers, such that the library program was perhaps the single most popular innovation to the educational component of the young offender unit. If a student was wanting a particular book that was not available from the current selection, I would offer to either purchase it or withdraw it from the public library. This would often serve as another conduit for establishing an element of trust between myself and the students. It is noteworthy that despite at least one riot on the unit, as well as the many occurrences of intentional flooding of their cells, novels were very rarely damaged.

Full-length feature films were shown approximately every two weeks and as with the case for the choice of novels, selection was restricted. Nevertheless, choices were made according to a

combination of what I gauged to be the students willingness to accept, had characters or events about which they could relate, contained material that they would be willing to discuss, and generally did not carry a restricted rating (eighteen years of age or older). The discussion which followed the viewing of such films was included as part of the students educational course material, but again they had the option of removing themselves from this component if they wished. Students were, for the most part, quite willing to voice their opinions and answer questions about the movies we watched together. Regardless of the responses that were given to a particular question that was raised or an opinion being expressed, I would endeavour to take the information that they had volunteered and demonstrate to that individual, as well as the rest of the class, how that specific remark was both valuable and contributed to furthering our awareness of various issues. Students were not forced to answer questions, but when they did, I would operate on the assumption that they were taking a significant risk in revealing something about themselves both to myself and the others. The more they were able to identify with the characters and the events in the film, the greater was their level of confidence about what they were prepared to offer. This was taken as an opportunity to further develop the potential for trust as opposed to humiliation, and to foster an unconscious sense of inner value rather than worthlessness, as experienced through the eyes and attitude of an authority figure who could be reached. I would challenge many of the comments made and the positions held. The greater the opportunity to become acquainted with a student who remained for several months, the more I was able to debate their particular points of view by taking into account certain specifics about their lives. One occasion was when a student and I conducted a formal debate on the subject of euthanasia before the entire group of young offenders. This involved withdrawing books from

the public library for him, followed by a considerable amount of research. While he was clearly nervous about having agreed to my *challenge*, as reported by the guards stating that he had confessed that he had difficulty eating or sleeping in the days prior to the event, he went on to win a battle that I would like to think was different from the usual ones he was accustomed to, and in which his opponent championed his efforts. In this sense, what went on in the classroom was more *supportive* rather than *interpretive* therapy (Cox 1998, p. 84).

While some of the conversations that took place in the classroom between the students had to be curtailed, given the nature of their talks, I maintained the practise of allowing them to talk about whatever they wanted. While much of what they would discuss was more than disturbing and disturbed, I believed that it was the interest that I genuinely felt, as well as the confidentiality that was preserved about information that would often have otherwise resulted in some form of reprimand, which I believe helped increase their qualified sense of trust. I would never report back to the guards comments or actions that would result in them being punished, but I state that I would report any plans to injure one of my students. Here, the intention was to convey to them on an unconscious level that I regarded all of my students much as the children of a family in whom I had a vested interest to protect from harm.

It may be stated that there were times when the behaviour of a student went beyond any words that I could offer or approach that I would take. These were generally persons whose grasp on reality was sufficiently tenuous that regardless of my efforts to appeal to whatever amount of reason they might have, or interact with them with as much respect as possible, they were

incapable achieving a *meeting of the minds*. This was often difficult because in such instances it became plainly evident that the student was beyond the ability to comprehend the point you were attempting to make, regardless of how acceptable it would have been to the average individual. One such case was an inmate who enjoyed picking a chair up over his head and pretending to break it over another student's head. In a private discussion I informed the student of several concerns. The first was that in the event of the guards looking at the closed-circuit monitor at precisely the same time that he had the chair over his head, the *blue alert* button would be activated and a stream of guards would descend on the classroom in which a number of inmates would be hurt. Second, when they discovered that the entire incident had been a prank, the offender would be sent to segregation and I would be reprimanded for not having prevented the occurrence. Third, not all students would share in what he considered entertaining behaviour, despite the fact that no malice was intended. It was not that I was eventually forced to remove him from the class that I found upsetting, but that he sincerely could not appreciate that what he was doing was inappropriate and threatening. Such impasses did occur for which I did not take personal responsibility and acknowledged to be the result of the student's own disturbed thinking. Nevertheless, with respect to the concern for personal safety, I operated on the principle that if a student was going to assault me it would be the result of my own unconscious provocation. Consequently, I felt that I had the ability to prevent such occurrences. It was essential that any escalating frustration be understood in terms of how *I* was responsible for it, and therefore was capable of alleviating. I never hesitated to apologize to a student for my mishandling of a situation or to explain why I felt that they had reacted as they had, and my role in promoting that reaction. What I wanted to be realized was that adults make mistakes and

are capable of admitting those errors without repeating them. Further, from the point of view of fostering a relationship and restoring an element of calm following a disagreement, I would try to take ownership in the role I played in the exchange, but also offer comments to do with empathic insight which would facilitate their understanding of some of the emotional antecedents of their actions. I never asked them to do this themselves, which I considered analogous to asking a child to be capable of stating the unconscious specifics behind certain behaviours of theirs, thereby leading to frustration and humiliation. It was thought to be more therapeutic if I could demonstrate an awareness of their internal worlds which precipitated certain reactions. Such transactions between a student and myself were generally followed with an invitation to return to the classroom at his convenience.

At times it was difficult not to be intimidated by sizeable young men, some of whom had been charged with murder or other form of violent assault and yet I functioned with the understanding that an individual (the inmate) who senses another's fear (me) must unconsciously feel that there is something within themselves to be feared. Thus, I would attempt to get past the aggressive and dangerous persona of these persons by looking for opportunities to be helpful, responsive, civil, and respectful, without being servile or obsequious. It was mandatory to avoid any treatment that they might interpret as humiliating, embarrassing, or threatening, but equally necessary to take a stand, when necessary, without endangering myself. Becoming firmly aware of the prison culture, its values, norms, and language, woven with an understanding object relational principles, were important components to being able to communicate with these persons.

In addition to disseminating candy, which for the most part was done merely because of their *being there*, rather than because of any required behaviour, I would frequently give out gifts on special occasions, i.e., Christmas, Easter, and the end of school terms. These events were generally accompanied with school parties which included snacks, soft drinks, confectionary supplies, games, and an entertaining film. The items that I provided were not available to the inmates. They represented symbols of emotional sustenance to which they were currently, and had previously, been denied. The gifts were specifically selected with the interests of the individuals in mind. Muscle magazines, swimsuit edition sports magazines, calenders, music magazines, and men's fashion magazines, were purchased and presented at opportune times to each student with the view of delivering the message that their personal interests and current limitations were acknowledged and responded to, such that another human being cared about their existence.

The general attitudes of the guards, together with the inmates, was such that the detention centre in which I worked was euphemistically referred to as *the house of hate*. The combined effect of the comments and attitudes by both parties made *burnout* (Freudenberger 1974; 1989) a term with which I struggled increasingly over the years. I became well aware of the temptation to adopt a depersonalized attitude toward the inmates, and frequently questioned my own level of achievement and competence (Maslach 1982). To be supportive and accepting of the inmates placed you in opposition to the rest of the correctional staff.. I was generally more nervous about interacting with the guards than I was with the inmates, given the intensity of their suspicions and resentment surrounding my interaction with these youths. As a detention

institution whose primary focus was incarceration, it could not run without the ability to restore social order, for which the guards served a vital function. In addition, however, they posed formidable impediments to any potential therapeutic gains.

Correctional Institutions and the Need for Reform

Please consider placing me in a treatment program or open until I can get into one because if I get the time first then get out there is still there possibility of me going back to smoking crack and I don't wat that at all so please consider I don't think close time (*secure custody*) would help at all because they don't have the program's I need to get help (Female student 1996).

On the basis of statistical evidence which addresses the issue of recidivism and incarceration, we can state unequivocally that traditionally run correctional institutions (prisons, detention centres, and penitentiaries) are less than effective when it comes to correction or reform. One study reports that the recidivism rate for adult offenders is at least seventy-two percent (Petersilia et al. 1986), while the statistics for young offenders are reported to be forty-two percent overall (Sanders 1998-99) and at least fifty percent or higher for older adolescents (Stevenson et al. 1996-97; Allen, Ontario Ministry of Corrections, 1998). Both the economic and emotional costs to society of maintaining such a practice are considerable. When consideration is given to the daily costs of repeated incarceration and the projected emotional outcome relative to those of ongoing therapeutic intervention and its potential benefits, treatment is a strongly favoured choice. 'At \$124 a day per adult prisoner, and considerably more for young offenders, Ontario's prison system has one of the highest per-diem costs in Canada' (Angus 1998). It is incumbent upon us to experiment with other reasonable alternatives. There is a considerable difference

between some individuals whose criminal acts are perpetual, premeditated, evaluated in terms of potential legal repercussions, and involve either the actual or potential injury of the public, as compared with the more reactionary, episodic, and innocuous behaviour of others. Due to the system of jurisprudence combined with the practice of incarceration, many of the latter end up in the same environments as the former, where the routine and approach of the justice system emphasizes confinement over rehabilitation. The inmates with whom I worked were not classified according to degree of violence, or risk to the public. They were all housed together in the same maximum security facility, and were subsequently transferred to other institutions. Although these would vary in terms of whether they were open or closed custody facilities, as well as the degree to which they entailed a treatment component, the large majority of them minimized the opportunity for comprehensive rehabilitation.

It is disconcerting to suggest that there is a point in an individual's life when the combined effects of emotional, physical, sexual, social, and economic trauma are such that the prospects of them becoming a law abiding, contributing member of society, are remote. When such a point has been reached cannot be made with certainty. Suffice it to say that given the relative weak investment in programs oriented toward emotional, social, and economic reform, compared with the construction and expansion of *Superjails* (Angus 1998) that are designed to house the growing inmate population in Canada, I may have worked with a some of these persons, who had yet to complete their teenage years. The practice of removing offenders from society, thereby punishing them for the crimes they have committed will only be effective to the extent that society is protected for the length of time that an offender is detained, and in the process will

further debase the psyche of individuals who may already hold a dysfunctional attitude and response to life. Canada is second to the United States for the highest rate of incarceration per capita amongst first world countries, with eighty percent of offenders being housed in maximum or medium security facilities (Canadian Broadcast Corporation 2001).

The provision of psychotherapeutic services continue to be largely dependent upon government funding and while there has been some research supporting the benefits of longer term therapies (Menzies et al. 1993), historically it has lacked clear evidence of its effectiveness or safety (Andrews 1993). There is a demonstrated need for more forensic psychotherapists (Reed 1992), and yet providers of such services will need to be sensitive to the market demand for evidence displaying measurable outcomes. The provision of psychotherapy might be advanced within the healthcare sector if a clear step-by-step outline was provided of precisely what transpires during the course of the forensic patient's treatment, what Jones (1998 p. 167) refers to as *care-pathways*. Such efforts would advance an acknowledgement of the pragmatic expectations of the business community, possibly bridging the current gap between the two.

The value of this is that by packaging and pricing a product (in this case forensic psychotherapy) and publicizing it, all those who wish to purchase it are made aware of it and of its benefits. Purchasers can then include it in their plans, and the funds generated by increased demands can be re-invested in developing the services further' (Jones 1998, p. 168).

Why do the lives of so many of these young men continue to live on in my mind? They represented the rejected, despised, vilified, and disdained members of society, and yet many of them had struck an emotional chord with me. Quite simply, I saw myself in them, and perhaps

they sensed that. In the most marginal of ways I tried to understand them in terms of myself. If I could imagine what would propel me to behave as they had, they no longer remained strangers, we became one in the same. I had been comparatively fortunate in my life. They had not. If I had experienced anger, they had lived with rage. If I had experienced sadness, they had lived with despair. If I had experienced guilt, they had lived with the need for revenge. If I had experienced disruption, they had lived in chaos. We were the same, and we were different, and yet many of them continued to show the ability to respond to human compassion and sensitivity. Certainly not all, but more than a few, extended a level of respect, appreciation, and courtesy that was genuinely moving. At the close of my five years I no longer asked myself why they had committed the acts they had, but rather was struck by the ability of the human race to create vehicles of destruction well before adulthood. It was a life-altering experience.

Psychoanalytic Psychotherapy

In addition to the specialized kinds of problems associated with the treatment of the forensic patient, and the chronically abused woman and her abuser, some closing statements can be made about the general process of psychoanalytic psychotherapy. Many patients who come for therapy do so not only because of the current distress with which they are struggling, but that the inexorable difficulties that are part of the human condition, are magnified and manufactured by their unconscious relational impairments. Psychotherapy entails a process whereby two people come together in order that one may facilitate change in the other. Western culture has sensitized us to the mind altering properties of psychotropic medications, however, what is less

well known are the reciprocal findings that psychotherapy also alters the functioning of the brain (Baxter et al. 1992; Viinamski et al. 1998; Zwillich 1999). How is such an occurrence possible when Freud asserted that nothing takes place in a psychoanalytic treatment but an interchange of words between the patient and the analyst? Although he recognized how indispensable and irreplaceable the analyst was to the patient, Freud continued to make the same error of equating the words that were exchanged between them as the essence of the relationship, much as he had reduced the embodiment of the relationship between a child and its mother to the meeting of biological and instinctual needs.

Evolution has shaped mammals to be attuned to one another's emotional states, and in so doing influence each others physiology. Psychotherapy's ability to facilitate change derives from an awareness of our primordial need to synchronize our emotions around someone to whom we bestow an esteemed sense of trust. Freud regarded intellect and insight as the cornerstones of therapeutic gain while at the same time discovering that there was a part of the mental life of human beings that superceded consciousness. The mere exchange of words and information, is a cognitive skill, a process which targets the neocortex or conscious level of functioning, when therapy is about intuition, something directed toward the limbic brain or unconscious level of life. There will always be therapists who will cower at the proposed importance of relatedness. Accordingly, they may see their role much like that of a career counsellor, a financial adviser, or a market manager, who dispenses information with the objectivity of a refined machine. 'The physician should be opaque to the patient, and, like a mirror, show nothing but what is shown to him' '... push aside all his affects and even his humane compassion and posits a single aim

for his mental forces - to carry through the operation as correctly and effectively as possible' (Freud 1912 pp. 115, 118). Here, the fear may be that emotional intimacy will create reliance which in turn will promote negative dependency. Such thinking embraces the ideology that the goal of therapy should be to provide the patient with the necessary information for them to *stand on their own two feet*. However, emotional growth and transformation does not come about explicitly, it occurs implicitly, from the ongoing exchange and feedback from an external modulator. It is interesting that despite Freud's professed instructions of objectivity to aspiring therapists, he broke his own cardinal rule of emotional neutrality by having certain patients to dinner and developing friendships with those for whom he was particularly fond (Bettleheim 1983). I have provided evidence which demonstrates the potentially lethal effects and inevitably impaired outcome that occurs from relationships which are based on emotional neutrality - the same is true for psychotherapy. Freud was quite correct to emphasize the importance of the words that are used in the course of therapy, in addition to the intuitive interpretations that an analyst will provide, but to do so in the absence of emotional connectedness is to drain its life-sustaining potential.

While we know that an emotional connection can serve to stabilize a person who is losing or is out of control, we must also acknowledge that there are some for whom attachment is beyond them as a means to achieve stability. In such cases, medications can sometimes sooth the restless soul. Such patients may argue and debate the merits of these proposed medical wonders with the prescribing physicians. In treating the patient with major depression, for example, a physician may find themselves confronted with a patient's perception of a life filled with

unrelenting despair, hopelessness, anguish, apprehension, and perhaps ultimate death. The optimism that is offered in the form of a pill may not be shared. From the perspective of the patient, such a claim comes from a foreign world. And if they eventually agree to take it, it will probably not be because they consider it the logical thing to do, and the physician will most likely not be particularly interested in whatever the reason happens to be. Under such circumstances, then, the patient is not required to suspend their own view of the world. However, the patient who embarks on the journey of psychoanalytic psychotherapy should be willing to entertain the possibility that their emotional beliefs generate outcomes that range from unsatisfactory to destructive, and that someone else's might prove more promising. Such an omission requires a basic element of trust. A therapist's training and education, their academic credentials, their years of experience, and their reputation in the community do not guarantee anything absolutely. Such qualities are desirable and advised but in themselves they are not enough. People who are capable of some trust, can venture further, and slowly learn to trust more, while those who can not, will remain.

With each patient in question, then, the decision must be made as to which agent of choice should be used, chemical, or human. When the goal is to save a life and arrest the emotional morbidity of, say, the patient with bipolar disorder, few would dispute the value of pharmacological intervention. Nevertheless, many clinical encounters are not characterized by such degrees of urgency. In some cases, patients actually want to take medication, but for the purposes of feeling more emotionally fulfilled. The argument here is that pharmacology provides the illusion of emotional completeness that cannot be achieved in short order. Freud's effort to

provide psychiatry with what he termed its *missing psychological foundation* was, in part, his recognition the medications would never be able to resolve unconscious relational disturbances. Changing our relational matrix that originated from our attachment dependency requires a different kind of medicine. Psychoanalytic psychotherapy is about one human restructuring how another person thinks about themselves in relation to others.

A therapist who is emotionally engaged does not merely provide his or her patients with the opportunity to unburden themselves of their distress. The fervent desire to assist others in pain will draw a therapist away from their own world into that of the patient's, however, the astute practitioner will not expect to establish a sound relationship with this individual - to do so would be naive. If the emotional architecture of the patient furnished a satisfying life, they would not be in therapy. By therapeutic neutrality, then, Freud was advocating the need to be aware of the dangers of becoming a *friend* to someone in trouble, that is, of being drawn into a relationship in which the therapist unknowingly becomes a collusive partner in the unconscious pathology of the patient. The therapist has the seemingly contradictory task of entering the world of the patient without becoming a part of it. Emotional intimacy will form the conduit through which change is possible whereby the chords of one, slowly and gradually, at opportune moments recognized by the therapist, influence those of the other. Such a process must not be confused with the enhancing of reason over passion, or Freud's proposed battle cry: *Where id was, there ego shall be* (1933 p. 80). Not surprisingly, patients are anxious for information and explanations, because it has been our experience that difficulties are best solved through the voice of reason, the neocortical part of our worlds. However, while there are therapists who

share this ideology, a patient with an impaired unconscious understanding of themselves in relation world around them, can not simply be told to stop wanting or doing what they want and do. More satisfying alternatives are beyond their point of view. Even if they were in a room full of dozens of persons who would be willing and able to respond to them with the respect and dignity they consciously crave, their unconscious structure would find the sole figure from whom disappointment was assured. If therapy is successful it will not attempt to highlight the patterns of destruction which a patient can then actively avoid, it will result in an individual who gravitates toward what was previously barely perceptible - it changes what a patient wants, wherein the enticement of pathology wanes and the movement toward well-being expands.

The skilled analyst must willingly suspend his or her own convictions about emotional health and approach the inner world of another about which they can only begin to contemplate. The healing process will be undermined if the therapist fails to grasp the essence of Freud's *Weltanschauung* - the German term used in reference to person's understanding (unconscious) of how the world functions. An analyst's inability to set aside their personal preconceptions about how a person *should feel and act* threatens an accurate grasp of how the patient *does feel*. When the therapist is guided by rational thought rather than emotional resonance, the gains will be conscious (cerebral), not unconscious (limbic). We balk at Freud's predetermined causes of pathology being reduced to the respective conflicts around penis envy, castration anxiety, and repressed instinctual impulses, and applaud our more progressive advances in which disorders that include attention deficit, oppositional defiant, conduct, anxiety, mood, and depression appear as pathological givens, and no doubt these will be replaced with others depending upon

the emotional climate of the particular era, without examining their relational basis.

Freud was well aware that progress in analysis was not achieved without an emotional price. Thus, the gains that are achieved will occur, in part, through the reliving the emotional experiences that a patient most wished to avoid and dismiss. Freud correctly identified the repetition of emotionally traumatic events in the lives of his patients, but was wrong as to their nature and aetiology. Similarly, he discovered that the process of assisting another in emotional distress could not avert the transference of a variety of feelings from the patient's past, onto the figure of the therapist, including rage, fear, and envy, among others. A sound therapeutic relationship will take on the realm of traumatic repetition wherein a therapist may, for example, be perceived to be critical of the adult patient, in the same way that the latter was berated as a child. Or they may be felt to be abandoning their charge when they inform the patient of an upcoming holiday, the unconscious sense of rejection and devalued status as an infant being reawakened. A therapist may be regarded as controlling and stifling, much like the parent who was threatened by their child's independence and frustrated the promising talents that were detected. And likewise, Freud was well aware of the reciprocal effects of a patient's reactions and comments on the emotional life of the therapist. This was a fundamental part of why Freud advocated the need for all analysts to undergo analysis themselves. It was not enough to simply *not react in kind* when a patient would, say, viciously chastise a therapist for something they were felt to have done or meant. The elements of transference and counter transference formulated a fundamental part of the analytic process.

A gathering cloud looms over the patchwork landscape of psychotherapy: the growing certainty that, despite decades of divergent rectification and elaboration, therapeutic techniques per se have nothing to do with results. The United States alone sports an inventive spectrum of psychotherapeutic sects and schools: Freudians, Jungians, Kleinians, narrative interpersonal, transpersonal therapists; cognitive, behavioral, cognitive-behavioral practitioners; Kohutians, Rogerians, Kernbergians; aficionados of control mastery, hypnotherapy, neurolinguistic programming, eye movement desentization - that list does not even complete the top twenty. The disparate doctrines of these proliferative, radiating divisions often reach mutually exclusive conclusions about therapeutic propriety: talk about this, not that; answer questions, or don't; sit facing the patient, next to the patient, behind the patient. Yet no approach has ever proven its method superior to any other (Lewis et al. 2000 p. 186).

The point which Lewis et al. (2000) raise above is that psychotherapeutic advances transcend the mere mechanics of the particular paradigm being used. It may be added that Freud's pioneering of the analytic process implicitly recognized the centrality of the agent of change being the relationship itself. And it was because he saw that it was the therapist themselves, who would serve in the pivotal role to alter the emotional landscape of his or her patients, that he advocated the importance of therapists undergoing their own analysis to prepare themselves for the responsibility of navigating an other's emotional ship.

In addition to Freud's own views about emotional gains that are achieved in short order, is the research substantiating the position that the emotional houses of mammals are not amenable to overnight renovations, in the same way that they gradually develop and slowly take form over time. The same is true in therapy. In 1995 Michael Freeman, then president of the Institute for Behavioural Health Care, was quoted in an article of *The Wall Street Journal* : 'Who needs psychoanalysis for eight years if you can get your needs met in 20 sessions?' (Hymowitz and Pollak 1995). The irony is that in today's world twenty sessions would be considered quite

substantial. Our conscious level of functioning will continue to absorb large amounts of information. That which is unconscious operates according to a different sort of rules. Freud began this revelation over a century ago.

Not all therapies are created equal. If we wait long enough, given the current trend, it is conceivable that there will be a time when both patients and practitioners will only have read about the approach outlined throughout this paper. It is proposed that the extent to which psychoanalytic psychotherapy operates to work within another's unconscious emotional architecture and thereby maximize the opportunity for improved mental health, there is a distinct advantage over those that either fail to acknowledge its importance or are correspondingly, less compatible with our basic psychic structure.

Conclusion

Freud's contention that all human behaviour and thought may be traced to the innate instinctual drives of sex and aggression has been challenged in the face of evidence outside of mainstream psychoanalytic thought, more specifically, research from attachment theory whose findings support many of the theoretical postulations within object relations theory, most notably, the work of W. D. Fairbairn.

Freud's views about the psychological process by which boys become men and girls become women, wherein the two were seen as separate and unique gender organizations, were likewise questioned. Accordingly, boys and girls are understood to be, first, people, and second, a respective gender, a development which is argued to occur via the particular familial ministrations and subsequent relational patterns with each individual and their parent(s), as well as the relationship between the parents themselves, which are subsequently integrated into the social structure outside the family.

The classical psychoanalytic position has been debated that due to the anatomical differences between the sexes there are fundamental psychological differences between them. In contrast, attachment research was used as the basis to the argument that due to the emotional needs that are held by all humans, men and women share more in terms of emotional structure than the frequently reported distinctions. Freud noted that women were required to submit to a greater set of rigid social standards concerning their conduct (1908, p. 45). Likewise, Fairbairn

commented that society frequently interferes with the mother-infant bond by prematurely severing such bonds due to economic and social demands (1946). Despite the enormous social and cultural differences from the time of Freud's writing there continues to be inequality amongst the sexes in western society. It is argued here that the extent to which the shared primary needs of either sex are failed to be nurtured within the initial unconscious socializing agent of the family, those elements within the larger social order which are discriminatory and impeding, will be gravitated toward, selected, and responded to with marked resentment and sensitivity, thereby perpetuating the initial disappointments and false expectations that were instilled within the home. From a clinical perspective, the prospective therapist has an obligation to be sensitive to their own cultural experiences and biases regarding the sexes, which Freud both highlighted and ignored in favour of anatomy, as such beliefs will inherently influence the potential for therapeutic gain for both men and women.

The statistical evidence on spousal abuse clearly demonstrates that in the vast majority of cases males are the abusers and women are the abused. Further research reveals that such abuse is more likely to occur in relationships involving common-law marriages rather than traditional matrimonial unions, economic impoverishment, and alcoholism. The social structural factors of institutional marriage (emotional commitment) and economic subsistence are two important variables that enter into the issue of spousal abuse. Abusive relationships are not, however, restricted solely to the afore noted factors. They do occur within conventional marriages, economic success, and the absence of spirits. Why? Dorothy Dinnerstein, Janet Sayers, and Cynthia Burack use Melanie Klein's object relations work which emphasizes that central

importance of the mother for *all* persons, and argue that the hostility that has historically been directed toward women stems from unresolved conflicts during development. It is because women are regarded unconsciously as the powerful figures that they represented during our infancy, that men both love and hate the prototype of the figure on which they were initially completely dependent, about which considerable frustration and rage ensue over their inability to achieve absolute control and mastery. Accordingly, regardless of social institutions or economic provisions, conflict between the sexes (as well as within the same sex where conflicts are felt to originate primarily with the mother, and only later with the father) will continue until such primitive internal conflicts are worked through.

Moving beyond Freud's and Klein's theorizing and operating within the context of Fairbairn's object relations theory, spousal abuse is understood as the selection and sustaining of an original relational pattern which serves to generate both the wish to fulfill unconscious childhood hopes and desires, but also the disappointments and frustrations contained within these formative relational experiences. It is not that *all* men and women are destined to experience intense hatred for the same maternal figure for which they also feel love, but that *some* men and women will experience conflicting emotions about women, on basis of how their dependency are responded to. The extent to which hostile feelings or behaviour will be directed toward a woman will be in direct proportion to the degree to which a child's most fundamental needs are successfully met or negatively frustrated. Despite the apparent coincidence of contented relationships between men and women which the statistical evidence on female abuse would suggest, Fairbairn's work is used to highlight the crucial importance of primary care in either

insulating an individual from such relationships, or be placed in a position of distinct vulnerability.

Why does the abuser return to her abused? Attachment theory and the psychological achievement of *differentiation, integration, and introjection* are used to demonstrate why both the abused and the abuser are so reluctant to abandon their tumultuous relationship. Neither partner is able to move beyond their own pathological dialogue as each is seeking from the other what they cannot receive, and yet what they desperately want. Neither is able to accurately assess the damaging qualities of the other. Neither has a sufficient basis of positively internalized experiences with which to function in mutually satisfying interpersonal relationships. Fairbairn's construction of the *Moral Defence Against the Bad Object* is particularly applicable to women who identify with the victims of abuse, while men with the aggressor of abuse, to which both, within Fairbairn's theorizing, have been subjected. Given the prominent position of responsibility with which women are assigned within society for the raising of children, coupled with the unconscious perception of the infant, they are generally identified as the object to which our primitive aggressions and disappointments, as well as our hopes and dreams, are attributed. Whereas for Klein, such conflicts are viewed as inevitable, for Fairbairn they are made. In either case they are something which must be acknowledged if they are to be worked through and overcome.

Freud's unique contributions to the process of psychoanalytic psychotherapy were briefly outlined for their application with this clientele. The particular difficulties with both the male

abuser and abused female were noted with a view toward formulating a more realistic understanding of the complexities when addressing this particular problem than is frequently recognized by other therapeutic modalities.

Incarcerating adolescents for criminal offences does not address the many emotional, social, and economic factors which research indicates leads to such behaviour. The argument here is that this historical practice is frequently employed more out of the primitive need for humans to inflict aggression and hostility onto others which are based on their own intrapsychic conflicts, than it is for the safety of society or the betterment of the offender. Considerable evidence has been presented on the potential benefits of treatment, either in conjunction with incarceration, or, in some cases, as an alternative to imprisonment. Provided that: the safety of the innocent members of society remain the focal point of the actions being considered; a comprehensive assessment of the offender is conducted over a period of time by several specialists which includes an awareness of ulterior motives for agreeing to therapy; an extensive therapeutic community is available in which reform is to be undertaken; the transition from confinement to freedom is an integral part of the treatment process which takes into account the individual's family, social, and economic circumstances to which they will return, and therapeutic intervention moves beyond the level of cognitive acquisition of information or modifying of offending behaviour, the advances which therapy may afford to both the offender and society in general, cannot be overstated. To remain entrenched in the use of confinement, control, force, and segregation is to perpetuate the cycle of deviance.

Having outlined this position, it may also be said that in the same way that all living organisms have limitations beyond which they will not develop and operate within the parameters of what would generally be considered a healthy existence, the same is expected for psychological growth and function. It is likely then, that there will always be individuals who, for numerous reasons, may never be expected to realistically operate within the confines of the law. These are persons about whom I would advocate that, given the risk they pose to society, should not be extended the same rights and freedoms as any citizen, but instead should be isolated from the community. Nevertheless, the difficulties that were and are an inextricable part of eradicating the pain associated with physical diseases that pose formidable health concerns, have not resulted in a cessation of human efforts to ameliorate and conquer such problems. Likewise, the problem of crime is a widespread social issue that justifies the responsibility of governments to understand better the mitigating psychological and social factors that foster such behaviour, and provide the perpetrators with realistic opportunities to improve their future which might otherwise mean a lifetime of personal misery and social discord. Merely incarcerating offenders is more likely to exacerbate the disturbances of an already disturbed population; a population that when eventually released may well unleash such distress on others. Thus, there is an increased need to experiment with new methodologies, and expand the use of current treatment modalities which have been shown to show promise in facilitating psychological growth and arresting the behaviour of the forensic patient. On the basis of the treatment literature with the offending population, it may be stated that there is a growing need by health care officials to support the enforcement of programs that are both pro-active and reactive to the potential for, and actual, youth crime, during the formative years when the precursors of chronic deviance germinate and

the prospect for developmental arrest and reform are greatest.

My experiences with adolescent offenders indicate that educators have the opportunity to be therapeutic to the extent that the imparting of information, used in its broadest sense, involves a relationship in which something can transpire between people. The particular information that is selected, and how that information is imparted, provides the capacity for positive emotional impact. My own life's experiences, personal analysis, used in conjunction with many of the principles of psychoanalytic thought, served as my compass. The experience was continuously psychologically rich, generally pleasing, often enjoyable, frequently disheartening, and besieged with thoughts of the possibility of a more promising future for a segment of the population for whom I generally held a sincere affection, and yet given the current emphasis, were liable to continue their paths of destruction.

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